

THE PROTO-ALPHABETIC INSCRIPTIONS OF SINAI

BY

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THE PROTO-ALPHABET

In a previous article (Colless 1988) a new scheme was formulated for deciphering proto-alphabetic inscriptions from Sinai and Canaan, the so-called Proto-Sinaitic and Proto-Canaanite texts. This approach reduces the table of alphabetic pictographs from the 27 proposed by Albright (1966) to 23 characters. The proto-alphabet may have had more than 23 signs in its original form, but the extant inscriptions seem to exhibit only this number of pictographs. This is one more than the 22 of the established Phoenician alphabet; the extra letter is \aleph (later to coalesce with \aleph). The Semitic proto-alphabet is distinguished from the Semitic linear alphabet, which developed from it, by its pictographic signs: the objects the signs represent are still recognizable in the proto-alphabet, and this is true of the Sinai proto-alphabetic script. By this definition the 'Izbet Šartah abecedary (Colless 1988, 61-62) is not proto-alphabetic (or Proto-Canaanite) because most of its letters are not pictographic: they are too stylized to permit the objects they represent to be discerned. If the date assigned to this document is correct, about 1200 B.C.E. (the dividing point between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age) then the Canaanite linear alphabet can be said to belong to the Iron Age, while the Canaanite pictographic proto-alphabet is a phenomenon of the Bronze Age. The Sinai Semitic inscriptions have been dated to a period around 1500 B.C.E., early in the New Kingdom era of Egypt, but the alphabet seems to be older than that (cp. Beit-Arieh 1985, 116).

The Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions are the oldest substantial collection of alphabetic texts, but they are not the oldest examples of alphabetic writing. Questions about the ultimate origins of the alphabet must be set aside here, but its close relationship to the Egyptian hieroglyphic system (which already included a basic set of signs for each of its consonants) seems undeniable. Not every Proto-Sinaitic pictograph is transparently explicit, and the aid of Egyptian hieroglyphs has to be invoked to make sense of Z, T, S, Q and Š, for example (see the table

of signs). It appears, in fact, that the proto-alphabetic signs were borrowed from the Egyptian corpus of pictographs (W being the exception); the meaning of each chosen character was translated into the Canaanite language, and by the acrophonic principle the initial consonant of the Canaanite word became the value of the sign (Colless 1988, 33-52). A similar procedure had produced the Byblos syllabic script, the predecessor of the Semitic alphabet (Mendenhall 1985, 18-31).

The results obtained by applying my new system of signs and values to the Sinai texts will be presented here, covering the complete collection of proto-alphabetic texts from the region of the ancient Egyptian copper and turquoise mines (Wadi Naşb, Wadi Magharah, Şerabit el-Khadim). A preliminary attempt was made to decipher and interpret some of these inscriptions (Colless 1988, 52-57), but this was incomplete and did not investigate the relationship between the documents and the archaeological discoveries that have been made in and around the mines.

THE PROBLEMS

Maurice Szzymer, in a comprehensive survey of Proto-Sinaitic research (Szzymer 1972), affirms that any attempt to achieve complete decipherment and interpretation of these inscriptions is doomed to failure, because they are so damaged and fragmentary as to make epigraphic examination extremely difficult (Szzymer 1972, 1395). This difficulty is mitigated by the presence of recurring sequences, which enable restorations to be made in damaged or uncertain texts, and which supply contextual clues:

m'hb b't "beloved of Ba'alat" (23, 36; cp. 03, 08, 09, 10, 13, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29); note that the numbers refer to my drawings, fig. 2-5 below;

lb't "for Ba'alat" (03, 04, 06?, 28; cp. 11, 12);

rb nşbn "chief of the prefects" (04, 22; cp. 23, 27);

kbşn mş "melting-furnace"? (11, 13, 14, 23, 24, 27);

mk "mine, pit" (10, 12, 25, 28, 40);

gn "garden" (24, 26, 32, 39, 40).

There are also some unique idiomatic sequences which fit readily into their context and give partial verification to the interpretation:

şd bt şlb "a field requiring irrigation", alongside *gn* "garden" (24);

şls şbtm "three handfuls", alongside *rht* "provisions" (39).

Nevertheless, the problems are immense, and they may be summarized as follows:

Illegibility. Unreadable signs, because of scribal incompetence or subsequent damage.

Inconsistency. No fixed form for each sign; each writer seems to choose his own way of depicting the object represented; notice on the table (fig. 1) the variety of boomerangs for G, of doors for D, of snakes for N, of fishes for S, of bags for Š.

Variability. No set direction for the line of writing. In horizontal lines the regular Semitic right-to-left direction is found (11, 22), but the opposite direction occurs four times (03, 32, 34, 40). Most of the texts are in vertical columns, to be read from top to bottom, but in one case apparently from bottom to top (07); and there are cases of boustrophedon writing (01, 26, 35, 38). The direction for reading the columns is not constant either, being sometimes left to right (01, 16, 38), and sometimes right to left (04, 13, 23, 24?, 27?, 28, 29, 35, 36, 39); one example runs from the middle to the right, then back to the left, and finally to the rear (08).

Ambiguity. No punctuation or vocalization. With no separation of words or phrases and no indication of the vowels within the words, ambiguity reigns supreme. Even when an inscription is as well preserved as 32 = 357, the number of words that can be construed in sequence along its 28 or 29 signs is staggering (see Colless 1988, 55 for a variety of suggestions, only a few of which are accepted in the interpretation given below).

THE PICTOGRAMS

A. R. Millard (1986, 393) has estimated that at least “two thirds of the signs” in the infant alphabet of Sinai “are satisfactorily identified”. In fact only one third of them are beyond controversy, namely ‘BLMN’T.

A brief account will be given of the others in the light of the present attempt at decipherment.

Alep: Colless 1988, 33.

B: Colless 1988, 33.

G: the boomerang or throw-stick (*gaml*). Colless 1988, 33, 35. Found in *gn* “garden” (6 times; see below, the discussion of 24 = 353), *gb* “reservoir”? (17 = 367), *mg* “out of” (39). *sg* “increase”? (04).

D: door (*dalt*). Colless 1988, 35. Appears in *dwt* “sickness” (01), *šd*

“field” (24), *kd* “jug” (32, 40), *’d* “firestick” (20), *’rwd* “Arwad” (22), *’rwdyt* “Arwadite” (08).

H: jubilating person (*hll*). Colless 1988, 35-36. Occurs frequently in *m’hb* “beloved (see 03); as a pronoun suffix in *mlkth* “his work” (35); *’lh* “God” (30).

W: hook (*waw*). Colless 1988, 36-37. Represented in *wṭ* “expedition”? (23), *dwt* “sickness” (01), *’rwd* “Arwad” (22, cp. 08).

Z: a pair of lines. Colless 1988, 37-38. Only found in *z* “this” (m.) and *zṭ* “this” (f.) (see 03 and 08).

H: divided rectangle, court? (*ḥaṣir*). Colless 1988, 38-41. In the words *šḥ* “pit” (13, 14), *šrh* “excavated chamber” (29), *’ḥ* “brazier” (11), *šlh* “channel” (24).

H: hank of thread (*ḥut*). Colless 1988, 38-41. Occurs in *ḥrṣ* “pickaxe”? (01), *’rḥt* “provisions” (24, 39), *nḥt* “resting place” (16), *ḥrḥb* “Khirkhab” (26), *ḥḥ*? (25).

Ṭ: Colless 1988, 41-42. Always a rare letter, it occurs only once, in *wṭ* “expedition”? (see 23). Its form here is a cross joined to a circle, like the orb in the British regalia. Its form in the Phoenician alphabet is a cross within a circle, and this seems a natural development; the cross has come to be enclosed in the circle. The sign is ultimately traceable to the Egyptian hieroglyph *nfr* “good, beautiful” (F35), Semitic *ṭb* “good”. On his table of Byblos syllabic characters, Mendenhall has no sign for *ṭa*, *ṭi*, or *ṭu* (Mendenhall 1985, 19, Table 3). The Byblos syllabary has no pictograph resembling the Phoenician Ṭ (a cross inside a circle), but it has a sign composed of a circle on a stem crossed by two lines (in one of its three examples), possibly an inversion of the *nfr* hieroglyph; Mendenhall assigns it the value *ma’*, but it might well be the missing *ṭa*, from *ṭab* “good” by the acrophonic principle, which was involved in the process of the creation of the Byblos syllabary out of Egyptian characters (for examples see Mendenhall 1985, 20, Table 4). If correct this would tend to support my identification of Ṭ in the proto-alphabet.

Y: hand with forearm (*yad*). Colless 1988, 42. Two instances: as a pronoun suffix, *nqy* “my offering”? (03), *’rwdyt* “Arwadite” (08).

K: palm of a hand, often with wrist. Colless 1988, 43-44. Naturalistic representations (01, 22, 25, for example) and stylized versions (16, 24, 29, for example). All types can be seen by following the word *kr* “furnace” from 34 (twice), through 38, to 37 and 28. Perhaps some of these are palm branches (Hbr. *kippāh*, pl. *kappōt*).

L: shepherd’s crook (*lamd*?). Colless 1988, 44. Mendenhall has

suggested that the sign is a simplification of the character for *la* in the Byblos syllabary (Mendenhall 1985, 29). In my view this character corresponds to the Egyptian hieroglyph for sky (N2), and *layil* “night” would be the acrophonic agent producing *la*. But is this really the origin of *lamed*?

M: waves of water (*mayim*). Colless 1988, 44-45.

N: snake (*naḥaš*). Colless 1988, 45.

S: fish (*samak*?). Colless 1988, 45-47. The fish is S, not D (door). S and D occur together in 01; other instances of S are in 16, 28, 32, 35, 39 (twice).

‘Ayin: eye (*‘ayin*). Colless 1988, 47.

P: mouth? (*pu*?). Colless 1988, 47-48. Found here in *p’l* “has done” (35), *šrp* “crucible”? (19).

Š: tied bag (*šaror*). Colless 1988, 48-49. Examples: *brš* (see 01), *šrp* (see 19), *š* “wood” (15), *šbtm* “handfuls” (39), *nšb* (four times, see 04).

Q: line wound on a stick (*qaw*). Colless 1988, 49-50. Instances: *ql’* “carve” (01), *qnt* “dirge” (16), *nqy*? (03), *rq*? (41), *tqn*? (36).

R: head (*raš*). Colless 1988, 50.

Š: sun with serpent? (*šams*?). Colless 1988, 50-51. This sign, whatever its origin, covers Š, Ś, Ṭ:

šmš “sun” (24); Akd., Hbr., Phn., Arm. *šmš*, Ugr. *špš*

šd “field” (24); Ugr., Phn., *šd*, Hbr. *šdh*

šlš “three”; Ugr. *tlš*, Phn., Hbr. *šlš*, Arm. *tlš* and *šlš*

Other examples are: *št* “lady” (07, 36), Ugr. *št*, Arb. *sittu*; *št* “pit” (09), Hbr. *šit*; *knš* “gather” (24), Arm., Phn. *knš*, Hbr. *kns*; *mš* (see 11); *š* “of”? (see 08).

T: mark (*taw*). Colless 1988, 51-52.

There is a strong suspicion that some of the *pictograms* also function as *ideograms* (cp. Colless 1988, 65):

B “house, temple” (06); cp. the Gezer Sherd (Colless 1988, 57, C.1);

M “water” (32, 33);

‘Ayin “spring, well” (02, 32, 42);

mr “beloved” (Egp. hoe-hieroglyph, U6) (found in 17, 31, 40?).

Can this writing system, with its complete lack of vowel signs, be called an alphabet?

A. R. Millard (1986, 395) describes it thus: “The script is not ... an alphabet in the strictest sense of the term; it is a very economical syllabary”. It is worth noting that its inventor seems to have chosen

mainly words having the vowel *a* in the first syllable (see the table of signs). Whether it is a kind of syllabary or not, it needs to be defined as a “consonantal script”, because (like the Egyptian hieroglyphic “pseudo-alphabet”) it has no vowels (unlike the Akkadian cuneiform syllabary). And because it is the prototype of all later alphabets, it can be called the proto-alphabet.

THE PURPORTS

What do these documents purport? What meaning did their ancient scribes intend to convey? There have been numerous attempts to read their messages (notably Butin 1932, Albright 1966, van den Branden 1979), but none have had the ring of truth. In the working out of my own system of decipherment and interpretation, careful note has been taken of the results obtained by these three scholars. My own findings will be presented here as concisely as possible, and the opinions of others will, for the most part, only be mentioned when they support the case being argued here. This rarely happens, because no one else has taken the metallurgical line of interpretation followed here. The discovery of metal-working equipment in connection with mines which have proto-alphabetic inscriptions (Beit-Arieh 1985) provides a new and significant clue, which was not available to Butin, Albright, and van den Branden.

On the metallurgical interpretation, the following words for “furnace” emerge from the uninterrupted sequences of signs:

ḥ (see notes on document 11);

kr (28, 34, 37, 38, 40?, 43?);

kbšn (11, 13, 14, 23, 24, 27).

Further, there are references to “work” *ml’kt* (22) or *mlkt* (35); “apparatus” or “equipment”, *’nt* (22, 32), *’rk* (22), *tqn* (36), including the “crucible” *šrp* (19); “repair”, *tknt* (18); wood for fuel, *’š bl* (15) and *’d* (20); and fire, *’št* (28); “provisions”, *’rḥt* (24, 39); the “store”, *’st* (39), *’sm* (21).

The workers are “brothers”, *ḥn* (22), “sons of the furnace”, *bn kr* (28, 37, 38), and “prisoners” *šbn* (08, 22). At least some of them came from the Phoenician state Arwad (08, 22).

The officer in charge was the “prefect”, *nšb* (23, 27), or the “chief of the prefects”, *rb nšbn* (04, 22).

There are also excavational words denoting “mine, pit, cave”: *št* (09), *šḥ* (13, 14), *mk* (10, 12, 25, 28, 40), *šrh* (29), *ḥḥ?* (25), *’gn?* (34).

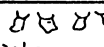



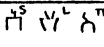

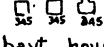



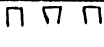

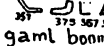



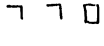

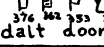



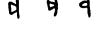

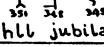



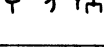

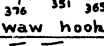



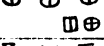

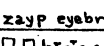





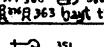



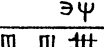

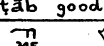



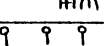

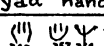



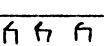

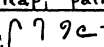



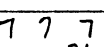

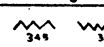



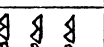

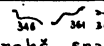



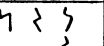

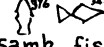



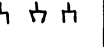

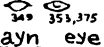



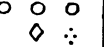

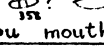



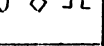

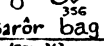



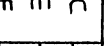

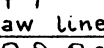



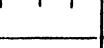

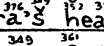



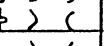

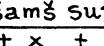



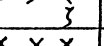

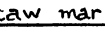



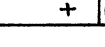













X	SINAI	CANAAN	PHOENICIA	GREECE	ARABIA	EGYPT
α	 alp ox	 alp ox	 Hebrew N 'Alep	 Αλφα	 alp ox	 F1 ox
B	 bayt house	 bayt house	 Bet	 Βητα	 bayt house	 O1 house
G	 gaml boomerang	 gaml boomerang	 Gimel	 Γαμμα	 gaml boomerang	 T14,15 boomerang
D	 dalt door	 dalt door	 Dalt	 Δελτα	 dalt door	 O31 door
H	 hll jubilate	 hll jubilate	 He	 Εψιλον Διγαμμα	 hll jubilate	 A20 jubilate
W	 waw hook	 waw hook	 Waw	 Τητα	 waw hook	 waw hook
Z	 zayp eyebrow	 zayp eyebrow	 Zayin	 Ζητα	 zayp eyebrow	 D13 eyebrow(s)
H	 hll court	 hll court	 Het	 Ητα	 hll court	 O6 enclosure
H	 hll thread	 hll thread	 Het	 Ητα	 hll thread	 V28 hank
T	 tab good	 tab good	 Tet	 Θητα	 tab good	 F35(nfr) good
Y	 yad hand	 yad hand	 Yod	 Ιωτα	 yad hand	 D36 forearm
K	 hapi palm	 hapi palm	 Kap	 Καππα	 hapi palm	 D46 hand
L	 land goad	 land goad	 Lamed	 Λαμβδα	 land goad	 S38,39 crook
M	 maym water	 maym water	 Mem	 Μυ	 maym water	 N35 water
N	 nahš snake	 nahš snake	 Nun	 Νυ	 nahš snake	 I10 cobra
S	 samk fish	 samk fish	 Samkh	 Ξι	 samk fish	 K1 fish
c	 cayn eye	 cayn eye	 Ayin	 Ομικρον	 cayn eye	 D4 eye
P	 pu mouth	 pu mouth	 Pe	 Πι	 pu mouth	 D21 mouth
S	 saror bag	 saror bag	 Sadē	 Μ (Σαν)	 saror bag	 V33,34 bag
Q	 qaw line	 qaw line	 Qoppa	 Ροπα	 qaw line	 V24 cord
R	 ra's head	 ra's head	 Res	 Ρω	 ra's head	 D1 head
S	 samš sun	 samš sun	 Sin	 Σιγμα	 samš sun	 N6 (rā) sun
T	 taw mark	 taw mark	 Taw	 Ταυ	 taw mark	 (X) (Z9 divide)

Fig. 1.

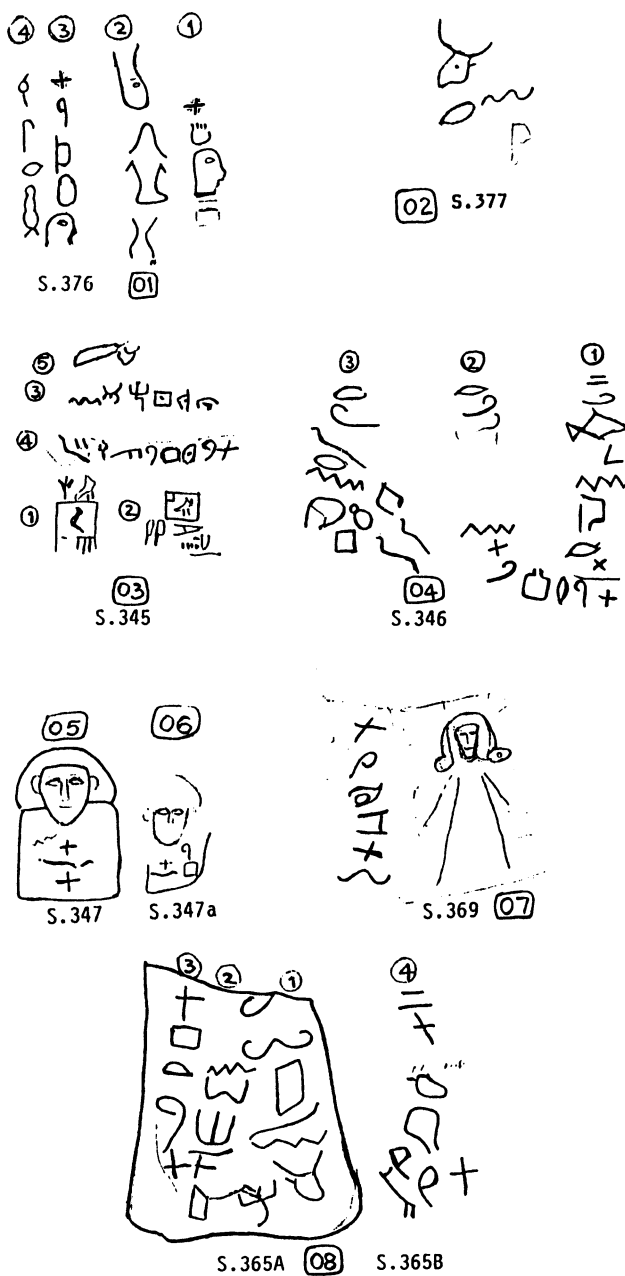


Fig. 2.

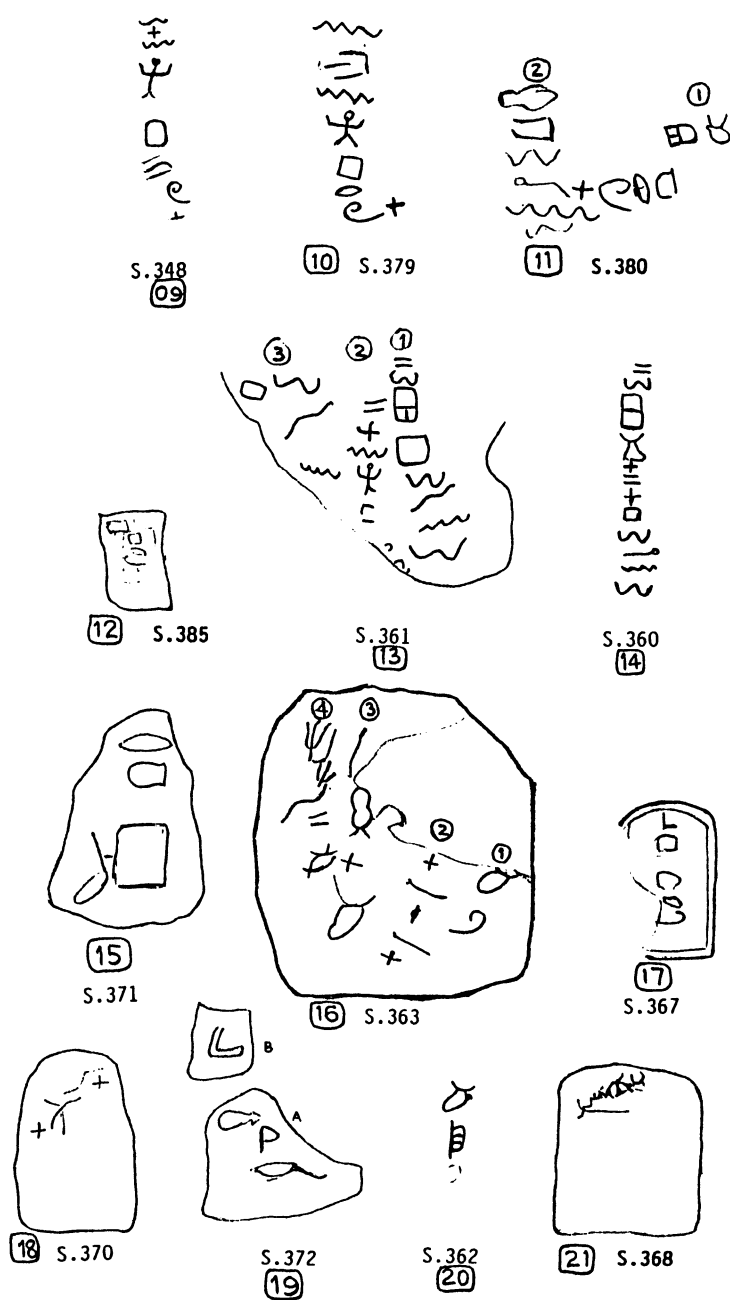


Fig. 3.

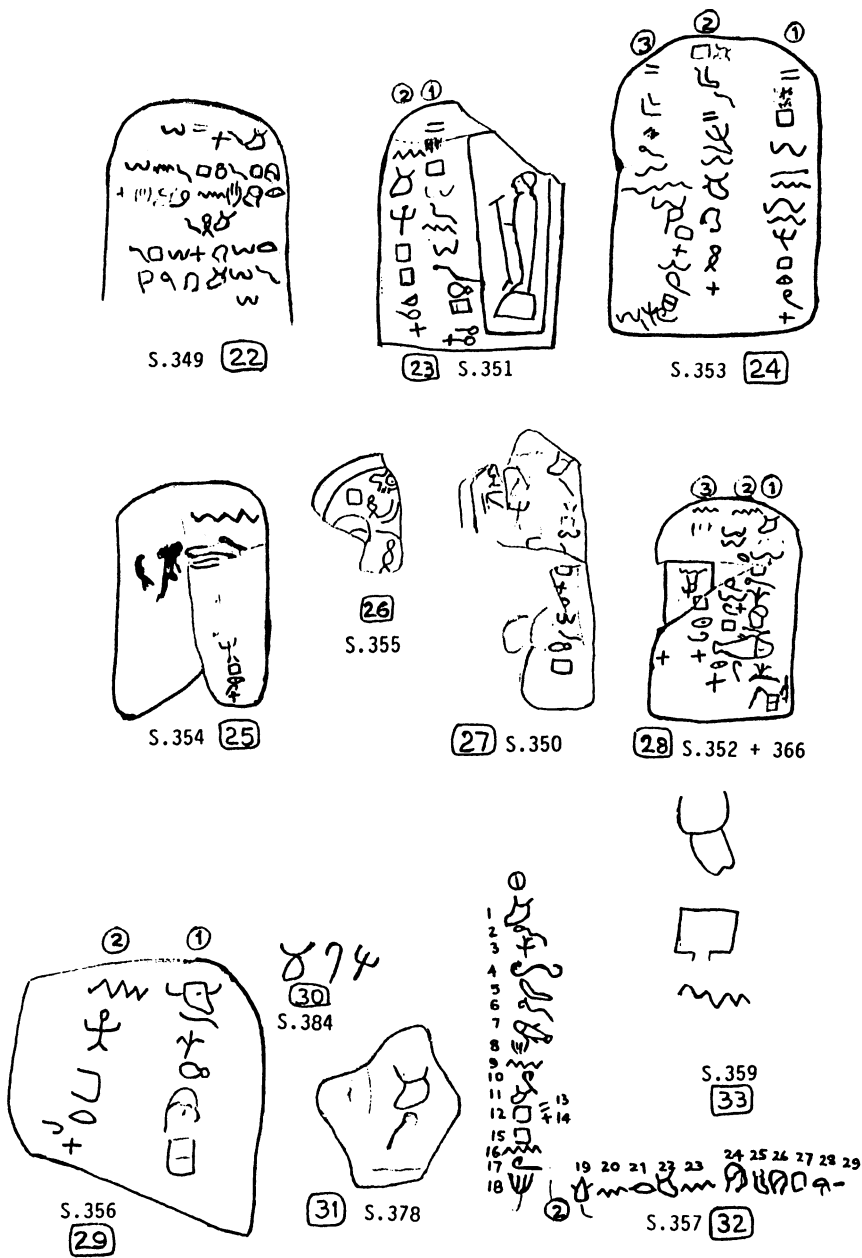


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

The word *gn* “garden” (24, 26, 32, 39, 40) offers a horticultural clue; its irrigational terms include *šlh* “channel” (24), *kd* “jug” (22, 40), *ʿb* “water-bag” (22, 33).

The deities invoked on the worksite were: *ʾEl* (16, 31, 34, 40); *ʾlt* Elat, meaning Athirat (41), or the Mother Goddess, *ʾm* (02, 32); *bʾlt* Baʿalat (see 03, 04); *tnt* Tannit? (05, 06); *ʾnt* ʾAnat (44); *bʾl* Baʿal (17, 32); Ptaḥ or Khasis (depicted on 23); *šmš* Shamash (24); *ḥrḥb* Khirkhab (26); *ʾlh* God (30).

01 = 376

Location: Wadi Naṣb, above Bir Naṣb (the main water source of the area).

Description: Inscription engraved on a rock wall.

Photograph: Gerster 1961, fig. 6; Leibovitch 1961, 460; Albright 1966, fig. 11; Rainey 1975, pl. 11 (upside down).

Drawing: Leibovitch 1961, 463, fig. 2; Gardiner 1962, 46, fig. 2; Cross 1967, 16*, fig. 2; Rainey 1975, 107, fig. 1; van den Branden 1979, 230.

Interpretation: Albright 1966, 28-29; Cross 1967, 16*-17*; Rainey 1975, 106-111; van den Branden 1979, 230-232; Colless 1988, S.1; Dijkstra 1983, 36-37.

(4 ↓) *qlʿ ḥ*(3 ↑)*rš dwt* (2 ↓) *ʾsʾ* (1 ↑) *brkt*

The pickax (*ḥrš*) has inscribed (*qlʿ*) the sickness (*dwt*) of ʾAsaʾ. Blessing(s) (*brkt*).

qlʿ: “carve”. Hbr. 1 Kings 6:29, 32, 35.

ḥrš: Hbr. *ḥārīš*, “pickax”? 2 Sam. 12:31. Akd. *ḥarāšu*, Hbr., Arm., *ḥrš*, “cut off, cut into”; cp. Hbr., Arm., Syr. *ḥrṯ*, “cut into”, Hbr. *ḥeret*, “stylus”. The term *ḥrš* here presumably refers to one of the four bronze tools used in the Sinai mines at that time, namely axes, adzes, knives, chisels, as evidenced by casting-moulds found in Mine L (Beit-Arieh 1985, 92-103).

dwt: “illness”; Hbr., Arm. *dwb*, Arb. *dwy*, “be sick”; Ugr. *dw*, “sick”; cp. Lev. 12:2, *dwth*, “her indisposition” (qal infinitive with suffix).

ʾsʾ: n.m. ʾAsaʾ, “myrtle” (Akd. *asu*; Arb. *ās*; Arm., Hbr., *ʾāsāʾ*); cp. King Asa, 1 Kings 15:8-22. The name recurs as *ʾs* in texts 16 and 35 below.

brkt: “blessing(s)”; Hbr. *bērākāh*, Arb. *barakat*. So Rainey 1975, 111. But *brkt* “pool” (Hbr. *bērēkāh*, Arb. *birkat*) is also possible in this context.

Other interpreters have read this text from right to left, but the shortness of the *brkt* line seems to indicate that it is the end of a boustrophedon sequence of writing.

This text records the illness (apparently terminal) of Asa; text 35 = 358 reports his death, apparently; text 16 = 363 is his memorial. It also appears that Asa is the donor of the inscribed sphinx, 03 = 345; possibly preceding the phrase “beloved of Ba’alat” (*m’bb’lt*), and probably on the neck, there is an ox-head and a fish; hence Asa (*’s*).

Other possible derivations for the name *’s* are: two Sumerian loan-words in Akkadian, *asu* “bear” and *asû* “healer”. If this Asa was in fact a physician, then his ability to write would be understandable, and his sickness ironic.

02 = 377

Location: Wadi Naşb, above Bir Naşb (the local well).

Description: Text engraved on the same rock face as 01 = 376.

Photograph: Gerster 1961, fig. 65; Leibovitch 1961, 460.

Drawing: Leibovitch 1961, 463, fig. 1; Gardiner 1962, 45, fig. 1; van den Branden 1979, 233.

Interpretation: Albright 1966, 29; van den Branden 1979, 233-234; Dijkstra 1983, 36.

’(n) ’m

Water-spring of the Mother (Goddess).

’(n): “eye” pictograph functioning as ideogram for “spring”; Ugr. *’n*, Akd. *ēnu*, Hbr. *’ayin*, “eye, spring”; cp. *’m* in 32 = 357.

’m: “Mother”; Hbr. *’ēm*, Akd. *ummu*, Ugr. *’um*. Van den Branden finds the Egyptian hieroglyph (R8) for “deity” below the M, and if this is correct it supports my interpretation of *’m* as “Mother Goddess”. (Van den Branden reads it all as “Atum, god”).

It thus would appear that *’n ’m* [*ēnu ’ummi?*] was the name given to this well (Bir Naşb) by the Semites who took part in the Egyptian mining expeditions. This would be the spring mentioned in the phrase *m ’m* (“water of the Spring of the Mother”) in the horizontal line of 32 = 357.

03 = 345

Location: Hathor temple, Serabit el-Khadim (now British Museum 41748).

Description: Female sphinx inscribed on both sides, on the upper surfaces of the pedestal, with Egyptian writing between the paws and on the right shoulder.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. X; Davies 1987, 57-58, pl. 42-43; Grimme 1923, pl. 4-5.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, 12, pl. 3; Butin 1928, 48; Butin 1932, 165; Leibovitch 1940, No. 1; Albright 1966, fig. 5; van den Branden 1979, 184.

Interpretation: Butin 1928, 65-66; Butin 1932, 164; Albright 1966, 16; van den Branden 1979, 184-186.

(1) (Egp.) Sneferu(?) (2) *mry ḥtḥr nbt mfk3t*

(1) Sneferu(?) (2) beloved of Ḥathor, mistress of turquoise.

(4) *n ʔqy lb'lt* (3) *m'bb (b)'l[t]* (5) *'s*

(4) This (ʔ) is my offering (*nqy*) to (*l*) Ba'alat. (5) Asa, (3) beloved (*m'bb*) of Ba'al[at].

Sneferu: A Pharaoh's "Horus name" appears between the paws. Petrie (1906, 129-131) argues that it is Sneferu (or Snofru), because it "seems only to contain the sign of the sickle, *maat*" (cp. his fig. 51, where this 3rd Dynasty king is depicted with his Horus-name), and Sneferu was venerated there in the time of Queen Hatshepsut and King Thutmose III (15th century B.C.E.). Gardiner (1916, 13) doubts this interpretation and regards the inscription as "quite illegible".

mry ḥtḥr: The phrase "beloved of Ḥathor, lady of turquoise" occurs frequently in the Egyptian inscriptions from Sinai. It is here written above its West Semitic, proto-alphabetic counterpart, *m'bb b'lt*, "beloved of Ba'alat", in which Ba'alat ("Mistress") corresponds to "Ḥathor Mistress of turquoise". The recognition of this equivalence of Ḥathor and Ba'alat gave Gardiner (1916, 15) the clue to the decipherment of these inscriptions.

m'bb'l[t]: The final T is not obvious, but Butin (1932, 164) had "no doubt" that this was the sequence he had elsewhere (1932, 159-160) recognized as *m'bb b'lt*, "beloved of Ba'alat". The verb is taken as the intensive passive participle (Hbr. *pu'al*) of *'bb*, "to love". Here the final *b* of the verb has coalesced with the initial *b* of Ba'alat. The complete form, *m'bb b'lt*, occurs in 23=351 and 36=374; the abbreviated form *m'bb'lt* (in which, Butin says, "The vowel of the weak aleph may have passed over to the vowelless prefix mem, and aleph not have been written") is found in 09=348, 10=379,

24=353, 25=354, 29=356, and possibly 13=361 (damaged and problematic). The phrase also appears in 28=352+366, possibly in the complete form, or else with a single *b*; and in the lacunal line of 27=350. A feminine form, *m'bbt b'lt*, emerges in my reading of 08=365. If all these readings are correct, then Albright's interpretation ("swear to give/bring a sacrifice") is an unnecessary hypothesis (Albright 1966, 16, cp. 41: *m'bb 'lt* or *m'bb b 'lt*).

lb'lt: This is simply the preposition *l*, "to, for", indicating the goddess Ba'alat as the recipient of the gift; cp. 04 and 06; also 24 and 32.

𐤀 *nqy*: The scribe's intention is not clear here. From left to right the signs seem to be N Z Q/W/R Y. If the third sign is R (a human head, but with too long a neck) then *nzry* could mean "my vow", but *ndry* would be expected (Ugr. *ndr*, Hbr. *nēder*, "vow"). However, if the Z (here standing in a unique upright position, and possibly the two strokes are to be combined with the preceding "N" and read as K, a hand) is understood as standing above the NQY, then it becomes the introductory 𐤀 ("This is..."), as found in 24=353, 23=351, 14=360, 13=361. One possibility for *nqy* is "my offering" (Akd. *nīqu*, "offering, libation"). But this group of "worn-out characters" (Butin 1932, 164) remains enigmatic.

𐤀: Asa (see 01=376); inscribed above the dedication to Ba'alat; ox-head and fish (visible on Butin's photograph); presumably the name of the donor (cp. 𐤀, "my").

04=346

Location: Hāṭḥor temple, at the doorway of the shrine of Sopdu, which was built by Queen Hatshepsut (Cairo Museum, 38268).

Description: Cuboid female statuette, inscribed on top, front, and side.

Photograph: Butin 1928, pl. VIII; Butin 1932, pl. XI-XII; Gerster 1961, fig. 66; Gardiner 1916, pl. IV; Grimme 1923, pl. 6-10.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 165; Leibovitch 1940, No. 2; Albright 1966, fig. 6; van den Branden 1979, 187; Gardiner 1916, pl. III.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 164-166; Albright 1966, 16-17; van den Branden 1979, 187-190.

(1) 𐤀 *lsg mr't* (2) 𐤀 *l [šd]mt lb'lt* (3) 𐤀 *n'm rb nšbn*

(1) This (𐤀) is for (*l*) increase (*sg*) of pasture (*mr't*) on (𐤀) [the terraces] (*[šd]mt*). For (*l*) Ba'alat (*b'lt*). (3) By (𐤀) courtesy (*n'm*) of the chief (*rb*) of the prefects (*nšbn*).

sg: “growth, increase”? (inf. cstr. with *l*?) ; Arm. *sg*, *sgy*; Bib. Arm. and Bib. Hbr. *šg*; cp. Job 8:11.

mr^ˁt: “pasture” (so Albright and van den Branden); Hbr. *mar^ˁit*, Akd. *merītu*, OSArb. *mr^ˁt*. See further van den Branden 1979, 190.

[*šd*]*mt*: Others see the first letter as N, but the head of the snake seems to be the loop of a rather flat Š; the D is more hypothetical than visible. Ugr. *šdmt*, Hbr. *šēdēmōt*, “terraces”. Or, “fields of Mot”, god of death and drought; Ugr., Phn. *šd*, Hbr. *šādeh*, “field”. Perhaps the answer to the problem is somewhere in these words of Mot in the Ugr. Ba’al myth (6.2.19-20): *mēt ln^ˁmy ‘arš dbr, ysm̄t šd šhl mmt*; “I came to the pleasant pasture land, the delightful fields of the shore of death (or: of Mot)”; cp. Gibson 1978, 76. Mot is speaking to the goddess ‘Anat, possibly the Ba’alat of this inscription; cp. *b^ˁlt* in Ugaritica V No. 2, Obv. 6-7, a hymn to Ba’al and ‘Anat (Gibson 1978, 136).

l n^ˁm: “by courtesy of”; or “in favour of” (Butin); “on behalf of Nu^ˁmu” (Albright). Ugr., Phn. *n^ˁm*, Hbr. *nō^ˁam*, “grace, kindness, loveliness”.

rb nšbn: “chief of the prefects”; cp. Hbr. *sārē hanniššābīm*, “chiefs of the prefects”, officers in charge of the foremen (1 Kings 9:23); cp. *šr htbhym* (Gen. 37:36) and *rb tbbhym* (2 Kings 25:8) as “chief baker” in each case. For *nšbn* Butin says “stone-setters”, van den Branden “statuaires”, and Albright “miner[s]” (*nqbn[m]*). The term *rb nšbn* also occurs in 22 = 349; cp. *nšb* in 23 = 351 and 27 = 350.

Pasture: for the goats eaten by the workers (Beit-Arieh 1985, 113, goat bones).

Terraces(?): cp. Egp. *ḥtyw mfk3t* “the turquoise terraces”, as a name for this region (cited by Sznycer 1972, 1386).

05 = 347

Location: Ḥaṭhor temple (now Brussels).

Description: Female sphinx head with a short inscription.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XIII; Grimme 1923, pl. 11.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, p. 12, pl. III; Butin 1932, 167; Leibovitch 1940, No. 3; Albright 1966, fig. 6; van den Branden 1979, 191.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 166-167; Albright 1966, 17; Cross 1967, 12*; van den Branden 1979, 191.

[?]*tnt*

Gift (Or: Tannit).

Butin and Albright, following G. Ryckmans, *Le Muséon* (1927) 21, understand *tnt* as an otherwise unattested word for “gift” (root *ntn*, “give”). If there is an M (a wavy line) among the scratches to the left of the initial T, then we have *mtnt* (Hbr. *mattānāh*, cstr. *mtnt*; cp. Ugr., Hbr. *mtn*), “gift”. Cross and van den Branden prefer “Tannit”, the name of a goddess (**tannintu*, “dragon lady”?, possibly an epithet of Athirat, or ‘Anat). Tannit is attested in Carthage from the 5th century B.C.E., and possibly in one of the Byblos syllabary inscriptions (Mendenhall 1985, 130, *la-ti-nu-ta*, “from Tinut”?).

On the other hand, *tnt* could be an older form of the infinitive of *ntn* (**tint*, Hbr. *tēt*).

See further 06 = 347a.

06 = 347a

Location: Hathor temple (now Brussels).

Description: Female sphinx head with a short inscription.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XIII; Grimme 1923, pl. 12.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 167; Leibovitch 1940, No. 4; Albright 1966, fig. 6.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 166-167; Albright 1966, 17; van den Branden 1979, 191.

[?] *tn* [?] *lb* [?]

Gift(?) For Ba[‘alat] (Or: For the temple)

The two characters on the left shoulder are the clearest: LB. This might be an abbreviation of “Ba‘alat” with the preposition “to, for”; or else the B is an ideogram for “house”, hence “temple”. If inscriptions 05 and 06 are meant to be saying the same thing (with LB worn away from the left shoulder, right side of picture, on 05), then the meaning “gift” for the first word is more likely than “Tannit”.

07 = 369

Location: Hathor temple, in the sanctuary (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Cuboid statuette, with the figure of Hathor carved on the front; an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription runs to the right and left of the figure, and a short proto-alphabetic text to the far right of the goddess.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXV.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 196; Leibovitch 1940, No. 27; Černý 1955, 203.
Interpretation: Butin 1932, 196; Butin 1936, 31, n. 1; Albright 1966, 30; Černý 1955, 203.

št b'lt (read from bottom upwards)

The lady Ba'alat (Or: the pit of Ba'alat)

št: "lady"; Arb. *sittu*; Ugr. *št*, a title of 'Anat (Gibson 1978, 159) and possibly also of 'Athirat (Gordon 1965, 495). The Egyptian text mentions "Ḥathor, lady of the turquoise", and is for "the chief of Madjoy, Nenkhemsen(?), true of voice (deceased)" (Černý 1955, 203). The third line is also read as Egyptian (though "The signs are crudely cut and almost illegible"): "he of the Tract of Prē". Albright (1966) and Butin (1936) accept the signs as Egyptian, but in fact the original drawing of Butin (1932) shows *b'lt*, and he recognized the 'L as "tolerably certain". Butin had hoped that this was "the much desired bilingual inscription". It at least seems to equate for us "the lady Ba'alat" with "Ḥathor the lady of the turquoise", and also "the lady Ḥathor" (*št ḥtḥr*, Sinai inscriptions 51 and 53; van den Branden 1979, 205). The sequences *št* and *b'lt* occur again in 36 = 374, and possibly also in 28 = 352. In 09 = 348, *št* would mean "pit, mine", and this is also a possible choice here.

08 = 365

Location: Camp-site of the Egyptian expeditions (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Sandstone slab inscribed on both sides.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 191, 194; Leibovitch 1940, No. 22 and No. 23; Albright 1966, fig. 10; van den Branden 1979, 223.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 191-194; Albright 1966, 26-27; van den Branden 1979, 223-225; Colless 1988.

(2) *mškent* (1) *š(?) šbn m'bb(3)t b'lt* (4) *zt 'rwdyt*

Dwelling-place (*mškent*) of (*š*) the captives (*šbn*), (which is) beloved (*m'bbt*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*). This (*zt*) is the Arwadite (*'rwdyt*) (dwelling-place).

For Albright this text concerns sacrifices; for van den Branden it is funerary; Butin sees it as an indicator of "dwelling-places" (*šbn*), and this comes close to the interpretation proposed above.

mškent: "dwelling-place"; Ugr. *mškent*, Hbr. *miškān*, pl. *miškānōt*

(*šken*, “dwell”). The final T is unclear, but *mškn* is plain enough on the photograph and on the drawings of Butin and Leibovitch; its left arm seems to join the right arm of the adjacent T of *b’lt*.

š: “of”(?). This is a controversial point. The Akkadian determinative relative pronoun *ša* can express possessive relation between two substantives, and likewise Phoenician *š* (Segert 1976, 172); cp. Aramaic *šy* and *dy* (Segert 1986, 327-328). The Phoenician toponym Arwad in the present text would suggest that its language is a dialect of Pheonician, and that *š* could therefore have a possessive (relative) function here: *mškent š šbn* means “the dwelling-place of the prisoners”. For other possible examples, see 22 = 349, *’nt š rb nšbn*, “the equipment of the chief of the prefects”; 32 = 357, *’nt š gn*, “the equipment of the garden”; 38 = 382, *bb š bn kr*, “the gate of the sons of the furnace”.

šbn: “captives, prisoners”? (root: Ugr. *šby*, Arb. *sabā*, Hbr. *šbh*, Arm. *šb*); Ugr. *šbyn*, “our captive” (2.4.29-30); Hbr. pass. part. *šēbūyīm/n*, “captives” (Jastrow 1950, 1513); and note especially late Arm. *šēhan*, “captives”, Targum Onqelos, Deuteronomy 32:42 (Jastrow 1950, 1513). See also 22 = 349, *šrt šbn*, “ten captives”.

m’bbt b’lt: “beloved of Ba’alat”, with the feminine form of the participle, as noted by Butin (1932, 192). The phrase refers to *mškent* (not *šbn*). See 3 = 345 for a discussion of *m’bb b’lt*.

zt: “this” (f.), demonstrative pronoun and adjective, Hbr. *zō’t*, OSArb. *dt* (Biella 1982, 99-101); Phn. *z* (m., f.); cp. *b’ zt*, “this skin-bag”, 32 = 357.

’rwdyt: “Arwadite”, gentilic adjective (f.) of Arwad, the Phoenician city situated on the island Ruād, between Gebal (Byblos) and Ugarit; Hbr. *’arwād* (Ezk. 27:8, 11), *’arwādī*, “Arwadite” (Gen. 10:18, 1 Chron. 1:16); cp. Phn. *’rwdt*, Ugr. *’arwdn*; cp. also *nš’rwd*, “men of Arwad”, in my reading of 22 = 349. Albright, van den Branden, and Butin read *’rht* here, as in 24 = 353 and 39 = 375.

09 = 348

Location: Wadi Magharah, south of Serabit (now lost).

Description: Inscription (on rock?) seen by E. H. Palmer in 1868-9.

Photograph: Gardiner and Peet 1917, pl. LXXXIII (reproduction of a squeeze made by Palmer); Sass 1988, fig. 25-26.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 167; Leibovitch 1940, No. 5; van den Branden 1979, 192.

Interpretation: Gardiner 1916, 15; Butin 1932, 167; Albright 1966, 17-18; van den Branden 1979, 192-194.

št mbb'lt

Pit (*št*) beloved (*mbb*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*).

št: Butin and van den Branden see this as the name Shet (Seth, Gen. 4:25). Albright restores it as *mšt* "lady"; Ugr. *št* "lady" would be a better choice, as in 7 = 369 above; but this is impossible here, since the participle *mbb* is not feminine but masculine. The context demands the word *šīt* (m.), "pit", used in Hebrew for pits under the temple of Jerusalem (Jastrow 1950, 1570). Presumably this term refers to one of the mines at Wadi Magharah.

mbb'lt: for *m'bb b'lt*, "beloved of Ba'alat", on which see 03 = 345 above.

10 = 379

Location: Above the entrance to Mine G.

Description: Brief inscription engraved on the rock surface.

Photograph: Sass 1978, pl. 50, 51; Puech 1986, pl. II.

Drawing: Sass 1978, fig. 8 (incomplete); Puech 1986, fig. 7.

Interpretation: Sass 1978, 183-187; Puech 1986, 194; Colless 1988, S.3.

mk mbb'lt

Mine beloved of Ba'alat.

mk: "mine, sunken place" (*mkk*, "sink down", Ugr., Hbr., Arm.). The term *mk* is attested in the Ugr. Ba'al myth: the throne on which the god Mot sits is a "pit" (*mk ksu tbt*, 4.8.12-13; Gibson 1978, 66). The term *mk* is also found at Mine L (25 = 354) and possibly at Mine A (12) and Mine M (40).

mbb'lt: for *m'bb b'lt*; see 09 above. Puech reads the whole text as:

my mbb'lt Who is beloved of Ba'alat?

Sass likewise takes the second sign as Y (hand with forearm) rather than K (palm of hand; in this case with the fingers pointing horizontally).

11 = 380

Location: Mine G, above the entrance, a few metres from 10 = 379.

Description: Inscription engraved on the rock surface.

Photograph: Sass 1978, pl. 51, 52.

Drawing: Sass 1978, fig. 10.

Interpretation: Sass 1978, 185-186.

(1) *ḥ b'lt* (2) *kbšn mš*

(1) Brazier (*ḥ*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*).

(2) Melt-furnace (or: Furnace of Mš).

ḥ: "brazier", Hbr. **ah*, Jeremiah 36:22-23, *hā'āḥ*; Egp. *ḥ*.

b'lt: "Ba'alat". Sass sees this possibility, but he prefers to read the line in the opposite direction; he offers no translation for his reading:

.....*tl?b/r t'*

We might expect *m'hb b'lt*, "beloved of Ba'alat", as on the adjacent text, but there is no clear MH on the photographs, to produce the *mhb'lt* of 10 = 379.

kbšn mš: Sass finds QNMNM in this column. The first sign certainly resembles Š (Q for Albright and Sass), but it could also be K (hand with thumb at the top). The sequence *kbšnmš* also occurs in 13, 14, 23, 24. It seems reasonable to connect *kbšn* with Hbr. *kibšān* (m.), "furnace, kiln" (Gen. 19:28; Ex. 9:8), given the presence of metallurgical equipment on the roof of Mine G (see Beit-Arieh 1985, 114), near the inscriptions. The two terms *ḥ* "brazier" and *kbšn* "furnace" fit this context admirably. The same applies to Mine L and its inscriptions 23 and 24. At Mine G and Mine L the remains of crucibles, bellows, clay mouthpieces of tuyères, and casting moulds show that there were furnaces for melting bronze on these sites (Beit-Arieh 1985). The sequence *mš* might therefore be related to Hbr. *mss*, "melt". The enigmatic Phoenician word *mš* could be adduced here; in an inscription from Lapethos (Cyprus), 3rd century B.C.E., it occurs in the phrase "the effigy of the face of my father in bronze", *mš pn ḥy bnḥšt* (Gibson 1982, 136-138). Does *mš* denote melting and moulding of metal? This is not obvious in other instances of Phn. *mš* (Gibson 1982, 20-22, two occurrences, one doubtful and one hypothetical; and in two Punic bilingual texts, *m's* is rendered *sacrum* "sacred object" and *statua* "statue", Gibson 136-137, cp. 154, 158; with the form *m's* cp. perhaps Hbr. *m's* "melt", Psalm 58:8). In 22 = 349, *mš* may be a proper name (*rb nšbn mš*, "Mš the chief of the prefects", possibly Moshe or Mash). Other possibilities for *mš* here are: Egp. *mš*, used in the Sinai monuments for "the members of the expedition" (Černý 1955, 16-17); Akd. *massû* or *maššû* "leader"; Hbr. *mas* "forced labour(ers)". For *mš* = Hbr. *ms* ("forced labour" or "melt") cp. *knš* = Hbr. *kns* "gather" (24 = 353), Arm. *knš*.

12 = 385

Location: East of Mine A (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Small stone slab with faint inscription.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXIV (upside down?).

Drawing: Leibovitch 1940, No. 32 (upside down?).

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 199 ("One of the marks looks like 'ayin"); Albright 1966, 30 ("very dubious").

[*mk b'lt*]

[Mine (*mk*) of Ba'alat].

My drawing shows, at the top of the slab, a wavy line (M) and a hand (K), to be read from right to left, *mk*. The vertical column shows a clear B and ' , followed by indistinct LT. There is no space for MH, to make *mhb'lt*, as on 10 = 379.

mk: "mine, pit"; see 10 = 379, and cp. 25 = 354.

b'lt: "Ba'alat"; see 3 = 345.

13 = 361

Location: Near Mine N entrance (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscription engraved on rock face.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XIX.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 187; Leibovitch 1940, No. 18; Albright 1966, fig. 8; van den Branden 1979, 217; Puech 1986, fig. 7.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 187-189; Albright 1966, 25; van den Branden 1979, 217-219; Puech 1986, 193.

(1) *ʔ šb (k)bšn mš* (2) *ʔt mhb[...]* (3) [*k*]bšn m[*š*]

(1) This (ʔ) is the pit (*šb*) of the melt-furnace (*k)bšn mš*) (2) which (ʔt?) is beloved (*mhb*) [of Ba'alat]. (3) Furnace (*k)bšn*) of metal-melting (*mš*).

This text is closely related to 14 = 360. Neither of them is clearly legible.

šb: "pit"; Hbr. and Arm. *šyḥ* (*šāḥ*), "ditch, pit", root *šwḥ* "sink down" (Jastrow, 1559); cp. *mk* "mine, pit", root *mkk* "sink down" (see 10 = 379). Butin and van den Branden read *šb*, Albright *ṭb*, Puech *tt*. For *šb* see further the section on H in Colless 1988, 40.

k)bšn mš: "metal-melting furnace"; see 11 = 380. In line 3 it is assumed that the sign K has been effaced; in line 1 the sound *k* may have been assimilated to the preceding *b*, hence *šbbšn*, or else the T to

the left of (and between) H and B is actually K (cp. the K of *kbšn* in 14 = 360).

ʔt: This would be a feminine demonstrative or relative pronoun (cp. 08 = 365) with no feminine noun present; but the T may be K and belong to line 1, as just stated. Given the irregularity of the lines in these texts (cp. 4, 8, 11, 16), perhaps read:

ʔ šh ʔ kbšn mš mhb[ʔlt]

This is the pit, this is the melt-furnace, beloved [of Baʿalat].

mhb[ʔlt]: see 3 = 345.

14 = 360

Location: Stone-enclosure on the ridge near Mine K (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscription on a stone slab.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XIX.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 186; Leibovitch, 1940, No. 17; Albright 1966, fig. 9; van den Branden 1979, 216; Puech 1986, fig. 7.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 186-187; Albright 1966, 24-25; van den Branden 1979, 216-217; Puech 1986, 189, 193.

ʔ šh ʔt ʔ kbšn mš

This (*ʔ*) is the pit (*šh*) with (?) (*ʔt*) the (*ʔ*) melt-furnace (*kbšn mš*).

ʔ: “this”, demonstrative pronoun; see 03 = 345 and cp. 13 = 361.

šh: “pit”; see 13 = 361.

ʔt: “with”?, Phn. *ʔt*, Hbr. *ʔt*, Akd. *itti*, “together with, beside”. Other possibilities are Hbr. *ʔt* “sign, signal”, meaning a beacon in this context; Hbr. *ʔt* (“mattock, ploughshare”). Though all interpreters have read *ʔt*, *bt* also seems possible from the photograph: “This pit is the house of the melt-furnace”. Albright accepts *ʔt* as “with” here.

ʔkbšnmš: This sequence is read *ʔt bšn mš* by Butin and van den Branden, or *dt bšn mš* by Albright and Puech, not only here but also in 23 = 351 and 24 = 353 (cp. also 13 = 361, Albright); my reading in all three cases is *ʔ kbšn mš* (cp. *ʔ šh (k) bšn mš* in 13 = 361); in each case the sign is not a cross (T) but a hand (K); in this instance the arm on the right of the figure is not a continuation of the arm on the left, but an obtuse angle joined to the stem; they are not “arms” but “fingers”, of a stylized hand (cp. K in 28 = 352, 29 = 356, 37 = 364, 38 = 382, and possibly in 13 = 361). For Albright *dt bšn mš[m]* means “the lady of the serpent (and) the lords” (cp. Puech); for van den

Branden $\text{ʔt } bšn mš$ means “this stele is an offering”, and for Butin “this in the camp of Mš”. My reading of $k bšn$ “furnace” is supported by the most recently discovered inscription (see 11 = 380), found in a metallurgical context at Mine G (Beit-Arieh 1985, 113-114); it receives further support from inscriptions 23 = 351 and 24 = 353, the first of which has a drawing of the god of craftsmanship beside the word $k bšn$, and both of which stood at the entrance to Mine L, where the remains of a smithy have been excavated (Beit-Arieh 1985, 92-113).

$mš$: “metal-melting”? (see 13 = 361).

$[m' hbb' lt]$: “[beloved of Ba'alat]” would be expected, by analogy with 13 = 361, but there are no clear traces of writing on all the remaining space on the slab.

15 = 371

Location: On the same ridge as 14 = 360.

Description: Four signs on a triangular rock fragment.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXI.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 197; Leibovitch 1940, No. 29.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 197-198; Albright 1966, 30.

ʕ bl

Dry (bl) wood (ʕ)

Albright, following Butin, sees “a drawing of a bird and two possible Proto-Sinaitic signs”; but the drawing of Leibovitch shows four signs, including the “bird” (which I take to be L). Butin reads it as a mixture of Egyptian and Semitic signs: W-B-Ba = Uba (the name of an Egp. official found in the Sinai monuments). In my view the signs represent an eye (ʕ), a bag (Š), a house (B), a crook (L).

ʕ: “wood”; Hbr. ēš “tree, wood”; Phn. ʕ “wood, timber”; Ugr. ʕ “tree”; Akd. iš(ʕ)u “tree, wood”.

bl: “dry (wood)”, Akd. bulû “dry wood”; Hbr. bûl (Isaiah 44:19, $\text{bûl } \text{ēš}$; Targum $\text{bêlê } \text{ʔā}$ “rotten pieces of wood”, Jastrow 1950, 172).

This stone would mark the place where firewood was available for the furnace mentioned in 14 = 360.

16 = 363

Location: Stone-enclosure just south of Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscription engraved on a stone slab.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XX.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 190; Leibovitch 1940, No. 20; Albright 1966, fig. 10; van den Branden 1979, 220.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 189-190; Albright 1966, 26; van den Branden 1979, 220-222; Colless 1988.

(4) *knkn* ז (3) *nh̄t* 's (2) *tn qnt* (1) 'l

This (ז) grave (*knkn*) is the resting-place (*nh̄t*) of Asa ('s). Give (*tn*) an elegy (*qnt*), God ('l).

knkn: "grave"; Ugr. *knkny*, "my grave"? (5.5.13, the grave of Ba'al; a hole, covered by rocks or a rock, which gives entry to the underworld; Gibson 1978, 72; cp. the damaged 19.147, where the same word is apparently used for Aqhat's burial place; Gibson 1978, 119). Albright and van den Branden say the text begins at line 4 but they do not see the two hands (one large, one small, with three fingers each); Butin recognizes the hand but combines it with the first N to produce four fingers; he overlooks the second hand.

ז: "this"; demonstrative adjective (m.); see 03 = 345 and cp. זt (f.) in 32 = 357.

nh̄t: "resting-place"; Ugr. *nh̄t* "resting-place"; Phn. *nh̄t*, Hbr. *naḥat* "rest, peace". The meaning "resting-place for a dead person" does not seem to be attested; but cp. Phn. *mškb nh̄ty* "tomb of my repose" (Fuentes Estañol 1980, 178). It is also possible to understand *nh̄t* as "he was taken away", Ugr. *h̄t* (G passive and Gt) used of the god Mot swallowing his victims (4.8.20, 6.2.23); cp. Colless 1988, 56.

's: Asa; cp. 's' in 1 = 376 and 's in 35 = 358, presumably the same person in each case. In my previous interpretation (Colless 1988) the name Zia' (zy') was read, by taking the fish (S) as a ligature of Y and 'Ayin; but the general context favours the name Asa, and thus the S becomes the last letter of line 3, not line 4. Note also that all four drawings have an ox-head ('Alep) as the first sign in line 3, but the snake (N) is clearly preferable.

tn: "give"; imperative, Hbr. *tēn*, root *ntn* "give"; Ugr. *ntn* or *ytn*; cp. 16.1.13: *ytn gh*, "he gave forth his voice", in lament for the dead, as here).

qnt: "elegy, dirge", Hbr. *qīnāh*.

'l: "O El"; Hbr. 'ēl, Ugr. 'il; cp. El mourning and lamenting over Ba'al (5.6.11-25; Gibson 1978, 73-74). Hence we may translate lines 2 and 1: "Give forth a lament, O El".

This document would be the gravestone of Asa, whose sickness is recorded in 01 = 376 and whose death is announced in 35 = 358.

17 = 367

Location: Stone-enclosure south of Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Large slab with a small inscribed stela.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XVII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 195; Leibovitch 1940, No. 25; Albright 1966, fig. 7; van den Branden 1979, 225.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 195-196; Albright 1966, 27; van den Branden 1979, 225.

gb . . *b'l*

Reservoir . . of Ba'al.

This text is damaged (by water?), but Albright (*yhnb'l*) and van den Branden (*gdnb'l*) agree that the name of the god Ba'al is there (but not Ba'alat).

gb: This seems preferable to *gd* (the deity Gad?). The stone slab could be a grave-marker, like 16 = 363, inscribed simply with the name of the deceased. The name Ba'al, however, suggests rain and water; and this stone-enclosure may have been for storage of water, either as a reservoir or as a shelter for water-bags (cp. *b* "skin-bottle" and Ba'al in 32 = 357, a text concerning irrigation). For *gb* cp. Hbr. **gēb*, Arm. *gōb*, "pit", late Akd. *gubbu* "cistern"; Jastrow (1950, 203) has *gēb* (or *gēbāy*) as "cavity for collecting water, pond, cistern", from *gby* "collect". I. B. Gottlieb, *Text and Realia: G'bi* 'Stowage Tank', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 109 (1977) 53-54, argues that *gēbī* is the correct Hbr. form, and that it means "a small water reservoir".

Between *gb* and *b'l* there is another character, apparently two lines, and thus possibly *ṣ* ("reservoir, the one of Ba'al"); or an acute angle representing a hoe, Egyp. *mry* "beloved" (U6) ("reservoir beloved of Ba'al"; cp. *št mhb'l* "pit beloved of Ba'alat", 9 = 348).

18 = 370

Location: South of Mine L, right near the stone-enclosure of 17 = 367.

Description: Stone fragment with brief inscription.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXIII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 197; Leibovitch 1940, No. 28.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 197; Albright 1966, 30.

tknt

Repair

The text can be read (with the most central sign considered as standing at the top rather than on the left side) as two crosses (T) with a hand (K) and a snake (N) between them.

tkt: presumably for *tqnt*; Hbr. *taqqānāh*, “remedy, mending”; *tiqqēn*, “set right, mend, repair; prepare”; cp. *tikkēn* “set right, establish, prepare”. Jastrow (1950, 1693a) cites a relevant use of this term from the Talmud: broken vessels of glass and gold “can be mended (remolten)” (*yš lhm tqnh*). With this cp. the statement of Beit-Arieh (1985, 114) regarding the metalsmiths associated with Mine L and Mine G: his assumption is that they were employed in melting “the broken or damaged bronze mining tools and recasting them into new tools in the moulds”. Cp. also 36 = 374 and the term *tqn*. This stone would thus mark the collection point for damaged mining tools.

19 = 372

Location: Stone-enclosure just south of Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stone.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXVI.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 199; Leibovitch 1940, No. 30a.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 198; Albright 1966, 30.

šrp

Crucible

Neither drawing is satisfactory. Butin sees a possible D; Albright sees “possible workman’s marks”. The top mark is a tied bag (Š) lying on its side; next comes R, very stylized, like Greek Rho (P) and similar to the example on the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (Colless 1988, C.9); the third sign is a mouth (P).

šrp: root *šrp*, Hbr., Ugr., Arm., Akd. “smelt, refine”. The word could be Hbr. *šērūp* (m.), “smelting, reduction, fusion” (Jastrow 1950, 1281); or Hbr. *šārōp* (m.), “smelter, smith” (Jastrow 1950, 1300); or more probably *šārāpā*, Arm. Targum Proverbs 17:3, 27:21, equivalent to Hbr. *mašrēp* “refining pot, crucible”. A clay crucible was found in the Serabit temple (Petrie 1906, pl. 161), and fragments of two types of clay copper-melting pots have come to light in Mine L (Beit-Arieh 1985, 111) and at Mine G (Beit-Arieh 1985, 114).

Another piece of stone was found in the same enclosure (Butin 1932, 198, and pl. XXVI); it seems to be inscribed with a G.

20 = 362

Location: Stone-enclosure above Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Small inscribed stone.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 190; Leibovitch 1940, No. 19; Albright 1966, fig. 7; van den Branden 1979, 219.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 189; Albright 1966, 25-26; van den Branden 1979, 219; Colless 1988, S. 362.

^{'d}

Fire stick.

There are two clearly engraved letters, an ox-head ('Alep) and a door (D), as Butin and van den Branden acknowledge (Albright reads ^{'b}). Van den Branden finds a B below the D.

^{'d}: Hbr. ^{'ōd} "piece of wood": in a fire (Amos 4:11, "a brand plucked from the burning"); smoking (Isaiah 7:4, "smoking sticks"). Cp. 15 = 371, "dry wood".

21 = 368

Location: Stone enclosure near Mine L.

Description: Small inscribed stela.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXIV.

Drawing: Butin 1932, p. 196; Leibovitch 1940, No. 26.

No one has attempted an interpretation of this text; it is considered to be "almost completely defaced" (Albright 1966, 30), though it "shows the remains of letters at the top" (Butin 1932, 196); perhaps they were the only signs ever inscribed on the stela.

^{'sm}

Store

This enclosure would seem to be the store or granary where provisions were kept; see further 39 = 375. The first letter on the right is undoubtedly 'Alep (ox-horns); the second sign is a fish with an erect fin (S); then comes a long wavy line (M): ^{'sm} "store" (Ugr. ^{'asm}, Hbr. ^{'āsām}); but ^{'st} in 39 = 375.

22 = 349

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela on a rock panel.

Photograph: Butin 1928, pl. 2; Butin 1932, pl. XIV; Gardiner 1916, pl. IV; Grimme 1923, pl. 19-20.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 168; Leibovitch 1940, No. 6; Albright 1966, fig. 4; van den Branden 1979, 195.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 167-170; Albright 1966, 18-19; van den Branden 1979, 195-198.

(1) 'nt (ʔ?)š (2) rb nšbn mš (3) 'rk ml['ket] (4) .. 'hn .. (5) 'šrt šbn
(6) nš '[rwd] (7) .šš...

(This is?) (ʔ) the equipment ('nt) of the chief (rb) of the prefects (nšbn) Mš(?) (mš). The apparatus ('rk) for the work (ml'ket) ... brothers ('hn) ... ten ('šrt) captives (šbn), men (nš) of Arwad ('rwd) ...

This text is badly damaged, and much of the lower half has to be read by intuition. It is unusual in having a series of horizontal lines; they are each to be read from right to left.

ʔ: "this", demonstrative pronoun or adjective (m.). Though following 'nt the Z is higher in the line and may be the first word in the text (cp. ʔ in 03 = 345).

š: "of"; see 08 = 365.

'nt: "equipment"; Akd. *unūtu*, "gear, equipment, furniture"; see further 32 = 357.

rb nšbn: "chief of the prefects"; see further 04 = 346.

mš: The idea that this can mean "metal-melting" (in the sequence *kbšn mš*, "melting-furnace", in 11 = 380 and elsewhere) does not seem to work here. The syntactical relationship of *mš* to *rb nšbn* would have to be apposition, and *mš* would presumably be the name of the chief prefect. Possibly, however, *mš* is an asyntactical "heading", introducing the apparatus and personnel involved in the metallurgy undertaken at Mine L: "Metalworking".

'rk: "apparatus"; root 'rk "prepare, arrange", Hbr., Phn., Ugr., Arm.; Hbr. *'erek* "accessories", Exodus 40:4.

ml'ket: "work, service"; Hbr. *mēlā'kāh*, Phn. *ml'ket*, and *mlket* (as in 35 = 358). This reading is by no means certain.

'hn: "brothers"; Ugr. *ah*, Hbr. *āh*, "brother". Or possibly "braziers"; cp. 'h (Egp. 'h, Hbr. 'ah) in 11 = 380.

nš: "men", construct plural; Ugr. *nšm* "men"; cp. Hbr. *'anāsīm*, *'anšē*, "men", and *nāšīm*, *nēšē*, "women"; Akd. *nišū*, Arb. *nās*, Phn. *'šm* "men".

'rwd: "Arwad"; cp. 08 = 365, where this Phoenician city appears.

As a guess, the 7th line could be read *nš šr* "men of Tyre" or *nš šdn* "men of Sidon".

šrt: "ten"; Ugr. *šrt*; Hbr. *šārāb* "group of ten"; Phn. *šr*, *šr* "ten". Cowley (1929, 206-207) reads *šrt* "ten" here; Butin has *šrt* "tribe" (cp. Arb. *asirat*); cp. Phn. *šrt šm* "ten men" (Fuentes Estañol 1980, 74).

šbn: "captives"; see 08 = 365, where these Arwadite prisoners are mentioned.

This text thus emerges as a notice regarding the metalworking equipment and personnel of one particular expedition to Sinai, in a year when the smiths were Phoenician prisoners. The following texts (23-27) perform a similar function for some other expeditions in which West Semitic metalworkers took part. It is strange that the regular phrase "beloved of Ba'alat" does not seem to occur here (though Cowley and Albright postulate a reference to Ba'alat in the last line).

23 = 351

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela on a rock panel, with a drawing of the god Ptaḥ.

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. IV; Grimme 1923, pl. 21-22; Butin 1928, pl. III; Butin 1932, pl. XV; Puech 1986, pl. III.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 173; Leibovitch 1940, No. 8; Albright 1966, fig. 5; van den Branden 1979, 200; Puech 1986, fig. 7.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 172-174; Albright 1966, 19-20; van den Branden 1979, 200-201; Puech 1986, 189, 192; Colless 1988, S. 351.

(1) *z kbšn mš nšb wṯ* (2) *m'bb b'lt*

This (*z*) is the expedition (*wṯ*) prefect's (*nšb*) metal-melting (*mš*) furnace (*kbšn*), beloved (*m'bb*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*).

z: "this", demonstrative pronoun (m.); cp. 13 = 361 and 14 = 360, where the sequence *kbšn mš* also occurs; in 24 = 353 and in the present instance all other interpretations have *zṯ bšn mš* (or *ḏt bšn mš*); but the sign is not a simple cross (T); it is a hand with fingers; here the line extending from the frame of the drawing of Ptaḥ is crossed by one of the fingers, hence the supposed T. The hand seems to be upside down in this case.

kbšn mš: "melt-furnace". Other possibilities for *mš* are: the name of the prefect (cp. 22 = 349²); an Egyptian term for the expedition

(cp. 11 = 380, but see *wṭ* “the expedition”, below); or “the forced labourers” (Hbr. *mas*); see further the notes on 11 = 380.

nṣb: “prefect”; cp. *rb nṣbn* “chief of the prefects”, in 04 = 346 and 22 = 349.

wṭ: “expedition”; Egp. *wḏw* (*wḏy*) in Sinai Egp. inscriptions 294 and 302 (Černý 1955). For Egp. *ḏ* = Hbr. *ṭ*, cp. *ḏbṭ* = *ṭabbaṭ*, “signet ring”. It is tempting to try *wṭ* as Egp. *wḏ* “stela”, and to take *nṣb* in its sense of “set up” (a monument), hence “Mš the one who set up the stela”.

mḥb bṭ: “beloved of Baʿalat” (here in its complete form; see 03 = 345), referring to the furnace rather than the prefect; cp. 24 = 353.

There appears to be alphabetic writing inside the chapel of Ptaḥ, above the god’s head: *ptḥ* “Ptaḥ”? and *ḥss* “Khasis”, the Egp. and Ugr. names of the craftsman god of Memphis (4.1.25, *bd ḥss mṣbṭm*, “the tongs were in the hands of Khasis”; he is described in 17.5.20-21 as *bṭ ḥkpt*, “the lord of Memphis”; see Gibson 1978, 55 and 107). The best photograph for observing these details is Butin 1928, pl. III.

24 = 353

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela on a rock panel.

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. V; Butin 1928, pl. IV; Butin 1932, pl. XVI; Puech 1986, pl. III; Grimme 1923, pl. 14-15.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 177; Leibovitch 1940, No. 10; Albright 1966, fig. 5; van den Branden 1979, 206; Puech 1986, fig. 7.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 176-180; Albright 1966, 21-22; van den Branden 1979, 206-208; Puech 1986, 192-193; Colless 1988, S. 353.

(1) *ṣ kbšn mš mhbṭ*

This (ṣ) is the metal-melting (*mš*) furnace (*kbšn*) beloved (*mhbṭ*) of Baʿalat.

(3) *ṣ gn šmš (š) d bt šlh lknš*.

This (ṣ) is the garden (*gn*) of Shamash (*šmš*), an irrigation (*bt šlh*) field (*šd*), for (*l*) gathering (*knš*) (provisions).

(2) *bgn ṣ knš ṛḥt*

In (*b*) this (ṣ) garden (*gn*) gather (*knš*) provisions (*ṛḥt*).

ṣ: “this”, demonstrative pronoun (m.); cp. 23 = 351, where the sequence *kbšn mš* also occurs.

kbšn mš: “melt-furnace”; cp. 23 = 351, and see further the notes on 11 = 380.

mbb'lt: “beloved of Ba'alat”, in its most abbreviated form; see 03 = 345.

gn: “garden”; Ugr. *gn*, Hbr. *gan*; cp. 32 = 357 (*'nt š gn* “the equipment of the garden”) and 39 = 375 (*ms't gn* “garden pickings”); see also 26 = 355.

šmš: “sun” or “Shamash” (the sun-god); Phn. *šmš*, Hbr. *šemeš*, Ugr. *špš*, Akd. *šamšu* or *šamaš*. Gardiner's drawing (1916, pl. III) shows an insect at the top of the middle column, above the word *gn*; it is presumably a scarab, the sacred dung beetle which (as Khepri) pushes the sun disk above the horizon each day; this could function here as a symbol of Shamash; cp. also the winged sun-disk on 26 = 355.

šd bt šlh: “a field requiring irrigation”; Hbr. *šdh byt hšlh* “a field requiring irrigation”, an expression found in the Mishnah (Jastrow 1950, 1580b); opposite of *bt b'l* or *šdh byt hb'l* (Jastrow 182a), “rain-watered field”.

šd: “field”; Ugr., Phn. *šd*; Hbr. *šāday* and *šādeh*.

bt: literally “house”; Ugr., Phn. “house”; Akd. *bītu*; Hbr. *bayit*, *bēt*.

šlh: “water channel, irrigation ditch”; Hbr. *šelah*, root *šlh* “send” (Hbr., Ugr., Arm.).

l: “for”; preposition, “to, for, from”; Ugr., Phn., Hbr., Arm.; cp. 03, 04, 06, 32, for possible examples of all three meanings.

knš: “gather, collect”; Phn., Arm. *knš*, Hbr. *kns*. In col. 2 *knš* is imperative mood, and infinitive in col. 3.

b: “in, from”; Phn., Ugr., Hbr., Arm.; cp. 32 = 357. The B stands on the left of the scarab, in my view, but it is not certain.

rḥt: “provisions, rations”; Hbr. *ʾāruḥāh*, 2 Kings 25:30, Proverbs 15:17; cp. Akd. *arāḥu*, “devour, consume”. See further 39 = 375, which defines the daily rations (*rḥt*) of the workers; and 21 = 368 as the stela marking the store where the provisions were kept.

25 = 354

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela on the same rock panel as 23 = 351 and 24 = 353. Some pieces of the stela have been lost.

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. V; Butin 1928, pl. V (incomplete);

Butin 1932, pl. XVII (incomplete); Grimme 1923, pl. 16 (incomplete).

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 180; Albright 1966, fig. 8; van den Branden 1979, 209.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 180; Albright 1966, 22; van den Branden 1979, 209; Colless 1988, S. 354.

(1) *mk mbb'lt* (2) *hh* (?)

Mine (*mk*) beloved (*mbb*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*).

Cavern? (or: Thornbush?).

mk: "mine, pit"; root *mkk* "sink down"; see 10 = 379.

mbb'lt: see 3 = 345.

hh: The signs on the left side look like two hanks, or perhaps three hanks, or two hanks (H) and a hook (W). Some possibilities in this context are: Ugr. *hh*, as in 4.8.12-14, referring to the god Mot, *mk ks'u tbbth*, *hh 'arš nhlth*, "a pit(?) is the throne on which he sits, a cavern(?) is the land of his heritage"; note the presence of the two words *hh* and *mk*, as proposed for this inscription; cp. 1 Samuel 13:6, where people hide in *hāwāhīm*, perhaps "holes" or "hollows" or "crevices" (Arb. *hawh* "hole in a wall"); Akd. *habū* means "slag", appropriate for this metallurgical setting; Hbr. and Arm. *hōh* (Akd. *habbu*, *hahinu*), "thorn bush" has the very tenuous support of the thorn bush (a descendant?) that was growing beside this stela when it was discovered (Butin 1928, pl. I); perhaps Thornbush was the identifying name of Mine L; if so the text could be rendered thus:

"Thornbush", a mine beloved of Ba'alat.

However, there seems to be more writing on the left side of the stela.

26 = 355

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now lost).

Description: Fragment of a stela (upper left side).

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. V; Grimme 1923, pl. 17.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 180; Leibovitch 1940, No. 12.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 181; Albright 1966, 29.

Butin recognizes G and H (twice); Albright makes no attempt to explain it. However, if the text is taken as complete it can be read thus, boustrophedon:

gn hrhb

Garden of Khirkhab

gn: “garden”; cp. 24 = 353.

ḥrbḥ: *Ḥrbḥ* (vowels not known); this god occurs in Ugaritic myth (24:14) as *ḥrbḥ mlk qṣ*, “Khirkhab, king of summer (or: of summer fruit)”; he would be a suitable guardian for a vegetable garden.

The symbol at the top seems to be half of a winged sun-disk. On Gardiner’s drawing, this fragment is shown joined to the right side of 25 = 354. It is possibly one of the missing pieces of 27 = 350.

27 = 350

Location: Near the entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela, broken in pieces.

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. V; Butin 1928, pl. II; Butin 1932, pl. XIV; Grimme 1923, pl. 17.

Drawing: Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 171; Leibovitch 1940, No. 7; Albright 1966, fig. 5; van den Branden 1979, 198.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 170-172; Albright 1966, 19; van den Branden 1979, 198-199.

This text is badly damaged, but one hypothesis would be: it is joined to 26 = 355, and together they make up a stela like 24 = 353, but referring to a different expedition; in this case the garden is under the aegis of Khirkhab, not Shamash, though in both cases the furnace is guarded by Ba’alat, but here it belongs to the prefect (*nšb*), as in 23 = 351. The seated figure (27 = 350, upper left of Butin’s 1932 photograph) would be Khirkhab, enthroned beneath the sun-disk of 26 = 355.

(1) *’n kb[šn] bt š nšb* (2) [*m*]’*hb* [*b’lt*]

I (*’n*) am the furnace (*kbšn*) of the house (*bt*) of (*š*) the prefect (*nšb*), beloved (*m’hb*) of Ba’alat.

’n: “I”; cp. *’nk šrh*, “I am an excavation-chamber...” in 29 = 356; Ugr. *’an* or *’ank*; Hbr. *’ānī* or *’ānōkī*; Phn. *’nk* or *’nky*; Akd. *anāku*. However, the word might be *’nt* “equipment”, as in 22 = 349.

kbšn: “furnace”, cp. 11 = 380, but conjectural here.

bt: “house”; cp. 24 = 353.

š: “of”; once again this pronoun or particle has to be invoked; see 08 = 365.

nšb: “prefect”; see notes on *rb nšbn*, 04 = 346.

m’hb b’lt: see 03 = 345. As in 23 and 24, “beloved of Ba’alat” would refer to the furnace; the phrase normally refers to things, but possibly to a person in 03 = 345.

$$28 = 352 + 366$$

Location: 352 near the entrance to Mine L, 366 right at the entrance (both now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stela on rock panel, and fragment (366).

Photograph: Gardiner 1916, pl. V; Butin 1928, pl. II; Butin 1932, pl. XV; Grimme 1923, pl. 18. For fragment 366 see Butin 1932, pl. XXIII; Sass 1988, fig. 108.

Drawing: (352) Gardiner 1916, pl. III; Butin 1932, 173; Albright 1966, fig. 5; van den Branden 1979, 203. (366) Butin 1932, 194. Leibovitch 1940, No. 9 (352) and No. 24 (366).

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 174-176 (352), 195 (366); Albright 1966, 20-21; van den Branden 1979, 203-205; Colless 1988, S. 352; Sass 1988, 22-23.

The interpretation to be followed here is that this stela refers to the fire of the metalsmiths, an idea not pursued in any previous attempts at understanding it.

(1) *ʔšt bn kr n(?)sk [nḥšt]* (2) *mš šʿ lšt lbʿlt* (3) *m[k] mʿhbʿlt*

Fire (*ʔšt*) of the sons (*bn*) of the furnace (*kr*), coppersmiths (*nsk nḥšt*).

Metal-melting (*mš*), an offering (*šʿ*) to the lady (*lšt*), to Baʿalat (*lbʿlt*).

Mine (*mk*) beloved (*mʿhb*) of Baʿalat (*bʿlt*).

This would be the stela of yet another expedition, devoting the mine and the metallurgy to the goddess.

ʔšt: “fire”; Ugr. *ʔšt*, Akd. *išātu*, Hbr. *ʔēš*. The T is not certain.

bn: “sons”, construct plural, Phn. *bn*, Hbr. *bēnē*; cp. Ugr. *bn* “son”.

kr: “(small) furnace”; Hbr. *kūr*; Akd. *kūru* and *kīru*, Sumerian loan-word; the term *bn kr* (“sons of the furnace”, presumably meaning metalworkers) also occurs in 37 = 364 and 38 = 382.

[*nsk nḥšt*]: “coppersmiths” (“pourers of copper”); root *nsk* (Hbr., Ugr., Phn., Arm., “pour”, liquids or molten metal); cp. Ugr. *nsk* “smiths”, *nsk ksp* “silversmiths”, and similar usages (Gordon 1965, 444, No. 1662). It is possible that the term *nḥšt* is found in the lower right-hand corner of the stela; Phn. *nḥšt*, “copper, bronze”; Hbr. *nēḥšāh* and *nēḥōšet*; Arb. *nuhās*, “copper”.

mš: “metal-melting”? See 11 = 380. Or Phn. *mš* or *mʿš* “gift”? (Gibson 1982, 136-138).

šʿ: “offering, gift”? Ugr. *šʿ* “offering”? (Gordon 1965, No. 2715); Phn. *šʿ*, “offering of perfume”? (one Neo-Punic example, Fuentes

Estañol 1980, 241); cp. van den Branden 1979, 203-205, *mš š'* "an offering of aromatics"; OSArb. *mšyt* "incense offering" (Biella 1982, 548).

l: "to, for"; cp. 03 = 345.

št: "the lady"; see 07 = 369. Possibly *št* means "pit" here (as in 09 = 348): "an offering for the pit, to Ba'alat".

lb'lt: "to Ba'alat"; see 03 = 345.

mk: "mine"; see 10 = 379 and 25 = 354. The K is not as clear as the M, but it seems to be similar to the two examples in the first column; apparently it has only three fingers, but there may be a fourth finger on the right side, like the K on 22 = 349.

m'bb'lt: "beloved of Ba'alat"; see 03 = 345. The top left corner of the B is on the fragment (366) and the remainder of the letter is on the lower slab (352).

29 = 356

Location: Near Mine L (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Small inscribed stela.

Photograph: Butin 1928, pl. VI; Butin 1932, pl. XVIII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 181; Leibovitch 1940, No. 13; Albright 1966, fig. 8; van den Branden 1979, 210.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 181-182; Albright 1966, 22-23; van den Branden 1979, 210-211; Colless 1988, S. 356.

(1) *'nk šrh* (2) *mhb'lt*

I (*'nk*) am an excavation-chamber (*šrh*) beloved (*mhb*) of Ba'alat (*b'lt*).

Apparently this notice stood at the entrance to Mine L (Albright, van den Branden); it refers, then, to the excavation of that mine.

'nk: "I"; cp. *'n* "I" in 27 = 350. Or is it *'nk* "tin, lead" here? Hbr. *'ānāk* "plumbline" (Amos 7:7-8); Akd. *anāku* "tin" (and probably also "lead"); Sanskrit *nāga* "tin, lead".

šrh: "excavation-chamber, rock-cut gallery"; Hbr. *šārīah* (m.), pl. *šārīhīm* (Judges 9:46-49; 1 Samuel 13:6); Nabatean *šryh* "rock-cut burial-chamber"; Arb. *darīh* "grave"; see further Ussishkin 1969, 19-21.

mhb'lt: "beloved of Ba'alat"; see 03 = 345.

30 = 384

Location: Above the entrance to Mine L.

Description: Graffito, scratched on the rock.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 200; Leibovitch 1940, No. 33.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 200.

ʾlh God

ʾlh: “god”; Ugr. ʾilh(?); Hbr. ʾēlōah; Arm. ʾēlāh, ʾēlāhā.

31 = 378

Location: Found inside Mine L.

Description: Small inscribed slab of sandstone.

Photograph: Beit Arieḥ 1978, pl. 48.

Drawing: Beit Arieḥ 1978, 178.

Interpretation: Beit Arieḥ 1978, 178.

ʾl

God (El)

This plaque was found “in a pile of rock debris in the eastern section of the southern hall of the mine” (Beit Arieḥ). Perhaps this gallery was under the aegis of El (cp. 34 = 373?).

ʾl: “Il” or “El”; cp. 16 = 363 and 34 = 373.

On the left side of the plaque there seems to be an Egyptian hoe sign (U6), Egp. *mry* “beloved” (cp. 17 = 367); the text might then be rendered “beloved of El”, possibly referring to the gallery in which it was found. But the marks may be simply cracks or scratches.

32 = 357

Location: On the wall inside Mine L.

Description: Two-line inscription on the rock face.

Photograph: Butin 1928, pl. VII-VIII; Butin 1932, pl. XXVII; Butin 1936, pl. 16; Rainey 1975, pl. 11-12; Beit Arieḥ 1978, pl. 48-49.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 183; Leibovitch 1940, No. 14; Albright 1966, fig. 4; Rainey 1975, fig. 2; van den Branden 1979, 211; Beit Arieḥ 1978, fig. 6 (the most reliable).

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 182-184 (cp. 1928, 39-42); Albright 1966, 23-24 (cp. 1948, 19-22); Rainey 1975, 111-115; van den Branden 1979, 211-213; Beit Arieḥ 1978, 179-182; Colless 1988, S. 357; Dijkstra 1983, 33-35; Shea 1988. Many and varied are the suggested interpretations of this text; the one offered here follows a horticultural line, whereby *gn* is understood as referring to the garden of 24 = 353, 26 = 355, and 39 = 375.

(1) *'ntšgnskml'bžt bmlk* (2) *dm''mr'rb'l?*
'nt š gn sk m l 'b žt b ml kd m ' 'm r' r b' l

The vessels (*'nt*) of (*š*) the garden (*gn*). Pour (*sk*) water (*m*) from (*l*) this (*žt*) bag (*'b*), while (*b*) filling (*ml*) the pitcher (*kd*) with water (*m*) of the spring (*'*) of the Mother (*'m*) and/or outpouring (*r'r*) of Ba'al (*b'l*).

'nt: “equipment, vessels”; cp. 22 = 349 above, and Butin 1928, 50. The whole sequence *'ntšgnskm* could be construed as *'nt š gn (n)skm*, “the vessels of the garden of the metalsmiths” (see the note on *nsk* in 28 = 352 above); cp. an analogous phrase in the Tell-Fekherye bilingual inscription:

Akd. *unūte ša bīt adad* “the vessels of the house of Adad”

Arm. *m'ny' žy bt bdd* “the vessels of the house of Hadad”

See further Muraoka 1984, 80, 82, 101-103 (discussion of *žy* and *ša*).

š: “of”; see the preceding note and the note on *ša* in 08 = 365.

gn: “garden”; see 24 = 353.

sk: “pour”; imperative mood (singular, or plural); root *nsk* “pour” (liquids or molten metals).

m: “water”, ideogram or word: Akd. *mû*, Arb. *mā'*; Ugr. *my*, *mym*; Hbr. *mayim*.

l: “from”? “for”? “into”? see 24 = 353.

'b: “skin-bag”, “water-bottle”; cp. *'b m* in 33 = 359; Hbr. **'ōb*, pl. *'ōbōt* (Job 32:19, only); the plural form suggests that this word would be feminine, but it is qualified by *hđšym* (m. pl.), “new wineskins”; the Septuagint has *phusētēr khalkeōs*, “bellows of a smith”, implying Hbr. *hřšym*, “smiths”, and this is preceded by a reference to wineskins; this leaves *'ōbōt* free to be accepted as feminine, and it coincides with the two uses for skin-bags at the Serabit worksite, namely for liquids (as here and in 33 = 359), and for air, on foot-bellows (cp. Beit-Arieh 1978, 175; 1985, 106).

žt: “this” (f.); Hbr. *ž't*, see Muraoka 1984, 84, 93; cp. 08 = 365. This word has been added in small letters to the right of *'b*, and it serves to show its gender and to differentiate it from “father” (Hbr. *'āb*) and “fruit” (Hbr. *'ēb*).

b: “in”, “while” (with infinitive); cp. Hbr. and Ugr. usage.

ml: infinitive construct; Hbr. *ml'* Pi'el, Arm. *mly* Pa'el, “fill, draw water”, followed by two objects, *kd m*; cp. 1 Kings 18:34: *ml'w 'rb' kđym mym*, “Fill four pitchers with water”. (Note the same sequence *'rb'* below).

kd: “jug, pitcher”; Hbr., Arm. *kad*; cp. the previous note; see also 40 = 383, *kd gn* “garden jug”; in Mine L “the body sherd of a large pilgrim flask or jar” has been discovered (Beit-Arieh 1983, 111). The D here is unusual; see the notes on D and Š in Colless 1988, 35, 51.

ʿ(ayin): ideogram for “eye” or “spring, well”. See also 43 = 387.

ʿm: “mother”, here referring to the Mother Goddess; see 2 = 377, “Spring of the Mother”, now known as Bir Naṣb.

rʿr: “outpouring, discharge”?; cp. Koehler and Baumgartner 1958, 890, Hbr. and Arm. *rār* “spittle”, root *ryr* “secrete, discharge”; originally **rʿr*, as here? This is an unlikely direction of change, and other possibilities are considered below.

bʿl: “Baʿal”, the rain god; the final L is not clear but this reading seems possible; cp. 17 = 367, which may refer to a reservoir in which rain water provided by Baʿal was stored. Other apparent possibilities in the sequence (*m*)*rʿrbʿ* are *ʿrbʿ* “four”, *mr* “drop(s)” (Hbr. *mar*, in *mr mdly*, “a drop from a bucket”, Isaiah 40:15), a reference to drip-feed irrigation? *rb* “shower”, Ugr. *rb* or *rbb*; cp. *ṭly bt rb* “Dewy the shower-daughter”, one of Baʿal’s daughters. Hence perhaps: R (dittographic error) *ʿ* (“or”) *rb* (“showers”) (*b*)*ʿl* (“of Baʿal”).

33 = 359

Location: Precise provenance unknown (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed piece of stone.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XVIII.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 186; Leibovitch 1940, No. 16; Albright 1966, fig. 7; van den Branden 1979, 215.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 185-186; Albright 1966, 24; van den Branden 1979, 215.

ʿb m

Water (*m*) bag (*ʿb*).

ʿb: “bag, skin bottle”; Hbr. *ʿōb*, “waterskin” or “wineskin”; bag made from a goat skin turned inside out, with the hair inside; cp. *ʿb zt*, “this skin bag”, in 32 = 357.

m: “water”, ideogram or word, also appearing twice in 32 = 357.

Presumably this was a sign indicating where a bottle of water was kept.

34 = 373

Location: In Mine M, in the cave behind and communicating with Mine L.

Description: Inscription on a flat projection of the cave wall (now Cairo Museum).

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XVI.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 199; Leibovitch 1940, No. 31.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 198-199; Albright 1966, 30 ("Not an inscription").

KR KR

Furnace Furnace

ʔ gn ʔl

This (ʔ) is the cavern (gn) of El (ʔl)

kr: This appears to be inscribed twice in large letters; the K of the upper text is a more stylized hand than the lower one. The word *kr* could mean "young ram" (Akd. *kirru*, Hbr. *kar*), but a better choice is "furnace" (Akd. *kūru* and *kīru*, Hbr. *kūr*); cp. *bn kr* in 28 above.

ʔ: "this" (m.); cp. 03 = 345, where a presumed Z is in the same unusual vertical stance as this one.

ʔl: "God, El"; cp. 31 = 378 and 08 = 365.

gn: an incomplete eye (ʔ), cp. the incomplete ox-head (ʔ); a boomerang (G); and a snake (with horns?); hence gn; Hbr., Arm. gn "seclude, shut up"; Targum Isaiah 24:22, agnā "prison". The metal workers were in fact prisoners; cp. šbn in 08 = 365 and 22 = 349. Therefore perhaps translate: "This is the dungeon of El". Or else "the spring (ayin) of the garden of El"; cp. ayin as "well" in 02, 32, and 42.

35 = 358

Location: Inside Mine M.

Description: Inscription on the interior wall of the mine.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXVII; Rainey 1975, pl. 12.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 185; Leibovitch 1940, No. 358; Albright 1966, fig. 9; Rainey 1975, pl. 12; van den Branden 1979, 214.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 184-185; Albright 1966, 24; Rainey 1975, 114-115; van den Branden 1979, 214-215; Colless 1988, S. 358; Dijkstra 1983, 35-36.

ʔs pʔl mlkth

Asa (ʔs) has done (pʔl) his work (mlkth)

ʾ: the person mentioned in 01 = 376 and 16 = 363; cp. perhaps also 03 = 345. Asa was recorded as being sick at Bir Naṣb (01), as making an offering to Baʿalat (03), as being buried in a grave near Mine L (16); and this is the poignant record of his death (35).

pʿl: “has done”; Phn., Hbr., Arm., *pʿl* “make, do”; Arb. *fʿl*; Ugr. *bʿl*.

mlkth: “his work”; Phn. *mlʿkt* and *mlkt* (Fuentes Estañol 157, 159), Hbr. *mēlāʾkāh*, “work, service”; cp. 22 = 349. The T has been overlooked by other interpreters. For *-h* “his” cp. Ugr. *-h/-hu* “his” (Segert 1984, 47), Phn. *-h/ihu*(?) genitive, **-ahu* accusative (if the language of the present text is Phoenician, then this is the expected suffix) (Segert 1976, 97).

36 = 374

Location: Among debris in Mine M (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Small inscribed stone.

Photograph: Butin 1936, pl. 9, fig. 19; Leibovitch 1940, pl. 14, No. 38.

Drawing: Butin 1936, 33; Leibovitch 1940, 103, fig. 12; Albright 1966, fig. 8; van den Branden 1979, 226.

Interpretation: Butin 1936, 39-40; Albright 1966, 27-28; van den Branden 1979, 226-227.

(1) *tqn* (2) *mʿhb bʿlt* (3) *št* (4) []

This (2) apparatus (*tqn*) is beloved (*mʿhb*) of Baʿalat (*bʿlt*), the Lady (*št*) []

tqn: “this” (m.); cp., for example, 03, 04, 14.

št: “lady”; see 07 = 369.

mʿhb bʿlt: “beloved of Baʿalat”; here in its complete form; see 03 = 345.

tqn: “apparatus”(?) ; Hbr., Arm., Akd. root *tqn*, G “be in order”, D “set in order”; *tiqqūn*, “preparation; amendment; arrangement; equipment; adornment” (Jastrow 1950, 1666); cp. *tknt* (= *tqnt*) “repair” in 18 = 370.

There are marks on the right-hand side which possibly say *hthr* (Hṯḥor?).

37 = 364

Location: Found in a dump in front of Mine M (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed fragment of stone.

Photograph: Butin 1932, pl. XXI.

Drawing: Butin 1932, 191; Leibovitch 1940, No. 21; Albright 1966, fig. 10; van den Branden 1979, 222.

Interpretation: Butin 1932, 191; Albright 1966, 26; van den Branden 1979, 222; Colless 1988, S. 364.

bn kr

Sons of the furnace

bn kr: “sons of the furnace” (metalworkers); cp. 28 = 352 and 38 = 382.

38 = 382

Location: Not known.

Description: Inscribed stone fragment.

Photograph: Leibovitch 1940, pl. XVIII.

Drawing: Leibovitch 1940, No. 49.

No previous attempt has been made at interpretation. The writing is not absolutely clear, but the following reading seems possible (boustrophedon, from top left to top right).

𐤀 𐤁𐤁 𐤓 𐤁𐤍 𐤕𐤕

This (𐤀) is the *bb* of (𐤓) the sons (*bn*) of the furnace (*kr*).

𐤀: “this” (m.); cp. 36 = 374.

𐤓: “of”; see 08 = 365.

bn kr: “sons of the furnace”; see 37 = 364.

bb: “gate, door” is an obvious possibility, Akd. *bābu*; this can mean a ventilation shaft (von Soden, 95b, *bāb 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤓*, lit. “gate of breath”) as found in these mines. If the piece of stone is the object (*bb*) itself, then perhaps Akd. *bubû* could be invoked (von Soden, 135a, “ein Ofenteil?”, “part of an oven?”. Or perhaps late Hbr. and Arm. *bīb* “pipe, gutter, canal” (Jastrow, 159a); or Arm. and Syr. *būbyā* “frying pan, coal pan” (Jastrow, 144a).

39 = 375

Location: Found among debris in Mine M (now Cairo Museum).

Description: Inscribed stone slab, broken into eight pieces (one lost).

Photograph: Butin 1936, pl. 10, fig. 21 (upside down); Leibovitch 1940, pl. XIV, No. 39.

Drawing: Butin 1936, 33; Leibovitch 1940, 105; Albright 1966, fig. 8; van den Branden 1979, 228.

Interpretation: Butin 1936, 40-42; Albright 1966, 28; van den Branden 1979, 228-229; Colless 1988, S. 375.

(1) *ʾrḥt* (2) *mg* *ʾst* (3) *šlš* *šbtm* (4) *msʾt gn*

Rations (*ʾrḥt*): out of (*mg*) the store (*ʾst*) three (*šlš*) handfuls (*šbtm*), and garden (*gn*) pickings (*msʾt*).

This document states the daily allowance of provisions for the workers.

ʾrḥt: “rations, provisions”; see 24 = 353.

mg: *miggō*, *min-gō*, “from the inside of” (cp. Hbr. *gēw* or *gāw*, “the inside”; Phn. *bgw* *hqđš* “inside the sanctuary”, Fuentes Estañol 1980, 96); cp. Jerusalem Talmud, Peah 8.20d: “she gave the Terumah out of the stew-pot” (*min gōʾ lipsāʾ*), Jastrow, 216a, 715b; Daniel 3:26, *min gōʾ nūrāʾ*, “out of the fire”.

ʾst: “store, granary”; Akd. *išittu* or *isittu*; Ugr. *ʾasm*; Hbr. *ʾāsām*; Arm. *ʾisnāʾ*(m.) (Jastrow 95a). See 21 = 368, possibly the stela indicating the site of the grain-store.

šlš: “three”; Phn. *šlš*, Akd. *šalāšu*, Hbr. *šālōš*, Arm. *šlš* and *tl̄t*, Ugr. *tl̄t*, Arb. *ṭalāt*.

šbtm: “handfuls”(?), Hbr. *šebet*, pl. *šēbātīm*, “what can be held at one grasp”, Ruth 2:16, with reference to gleaning ears of grain; Akd. *šabātu* “seize, grasp”, Ugr. *šbt*, Arb. *dbt*.

gn: “garden”; see 24 = 353, which speaks of rations (*ʾrḥt*) being gathered (*knš*) from the garden (*gn*).

msʾt: “pickings”(?); Hbr. *nsʾ* “pull out, pluck, uproot” (Psalm 80:9, a vine; Job 19:10, a tree), Ugr. *nsʾ* (Aqhat 19.160). Or possibly *m(n) sʾt gn*, “(and) from (*mn*) the pickings (*sʾt*?) of the garden (*gn*)”.

40 = 383

Location: Found inside Mine M (now “probably somewhere in America”, Leibovitch 1940, 107).

Description: Inscribed sandstone slab.

Photograph: Butin 1936, pl. 9, fig. 18; Leibovitch 1940, pl. XV, No. 40.

Drawing: Leibovitch 1940, 107, fig. 17 (not trustworthy).

No one has attempted to interpret this text. The writing in the centre and at the bottom (lines 1 and 3) is fairly decipherable, but the left side (line 2) is extremely difficult (it seems to have familiar words, such as *šḥ* “pit” or *ʾḥ* “brazier”, because of an apparent *Ḥ* in the middle).

(1) *KR KD GN* (2) (3) *mk . 'l n' [m]*

Furnace (*kr*). Garden (*gn*) jug (*kd*). Mine (*mk*) [beloved of?] El (*'l*) the gracious (*n'm*).

This text may be interpreted as the "boundary marker" of the Semites of one particular expedition. It serves for Mine M the same purpose as the documents of Mine L: it puts the mine under divine protection (cp. *mk mbb'lt*, "mine beloved of Ba'alat", in 25 = 354; and likewise 10 = 379 at Mine G; and possibly 12 = 385 at Mine A). It also indicates the place where the jug (for watering the vegetable garden) was kept (cp. 32 = 357 in Mine L).

Moreover, the word *kr* "furnace" shows that this mine also was a setting for metallurgical activity (cp. *kbsn* "furnace" in 23 = 351 and elsewhere).

kr: "furnace"; cp. *KR* (twice) in 34 = 373 (Mine M), and *bn kr* "sons of the furnace" in 28 = 352 (L), 37 = 364 (M) and 38 = 382 (M?).

kd: "jug"; cp. *kd* in 32 = 357.

gn: "garden"; cp. 24 = 353.

mk: "mine"; cp. 10 = 379, 12 = 358, 25 = 354, 28 = 352.

'l: "El"; see also 34 = 373, which also seems to designate Mine M as a place devoted to El; for other occurrences of the name see 31 = 378 and 16 = 363.

n'm: "gracious, favourable, good"; Phn., Ugr.; Hbr. *nā'im*, "pleasant, agreeable, lovely"; cp. Ugr. *'ilm n'mm*, "the gracious gods" (23.23; Gibson 1978, 124); cp. also *n'm* "grace, courtesy" in 04 = 346.

ζ(?): Is there a sign between *mk* and *'l*? Is it Z (two lines), "this" or "the one of"? Or is it an Egp. ideogram, "beloved" (a hoe, U6)? See 17 = 367, where a similar query is raised.

41 = 381

Location: Found in a circular stone-enclosure (4 metres in diameter) above Mine M.

Description: Inscribed stone.

Photograph: Butin 1936, pl. 11, fig. 22 (upside down); Leibovitch 1940, pl. XVII.

Drawing: Leibovitch 1940, 110, fig. 20; No. 48.

The interpretation proposed here is that the stone-enclosure (No. 18, Starr 1936, Plan V) was some kind of reservoir for water considered to have been supplied by the goddess Elat; cp. 17 = 367, possibly a tank for water provided by Ba'al.

rq 'lt

Outpouring (*rq*) of Elat ('lt)

rq: “outpouring” (?); the reading is not clear and the meaning uncertain; in Qohelet 11:3 the Hip'il of *ryq* (“be empty”) is used of clouds pouring forth rain; the vertical lines extending from the top of this stone perhaps represent falling rain, or else sunshine; cp. Arb. *rāqa* “flow, pour forth”; Arb. *rīq*, Hbr. *rōq*, “spittle”; Hbr. *rqq* “spit”; Hbr. *rāqāq* “pool”. See also the analogy of *r'r b'l* (“outpouring of Ba'al”?) in 32 = 357.

'lt: “Elat” (Goddess); Ugr. 'ilt usually refers to Athirat (Asherah), but also to 'Anat (3.B.18). Presumably 'lt here is equivalent to Mother (Goddess) in 02 = 377 and 32 = 357, the provider of spring-water.

There seems to be other writing on the lower half of the stone.

42 = 386

Location: Found inside Mine L.

Description: Stone slab inscribed with one letter only.

Photograph: None available.

Drawing: Beit Arieḥ 1985, fig. 15.7.

Interpretation: Beit-Arieḥ 1985, 112 (No. 3); he rightly notes that the single sign could be Egp. R or Semitic 'ayin. If the latter is correct, then it could be an ideogram for “eye” or “spring”; cp. its use for the well of the Mother (Goddess) in 02 = 377 and 32 = 357, and cp. 41 = 381. Perhaps this stone marked a spot where a spring was found (in the mine?) or where spring water was available to the workers, in a container.

43 = 387

Location: Found inside Mine L.

Description: Inscribed stone.

Photograph: Beit-Arieḥ 1985, pl. VIII.19.

Drawing: Beit-Arieḥ 1985, fig. 15.6.

Interpretation: Beit-Arieḥ 1985, 112, No. 4. He sees it as a bird with a line above it. However, the central sign is surely a hand (K) with perhaps the “legs” being the neck of a human head (R), to be compared with the example on 08 = 365; cp. also 37 = 364, which reads *bn kr*; the line here could represent an arm (Y) or a snake (N), and this suggests the familiar sequence:

[b]n kr

Sons of the furnace

Other hypothetical readings:

kn: “stand, base”; Hbr. *kēn*; cp. the Gezer sherd (Colless 1988, 57).

ky: “burning, branding, cauterization”; Hbr. *kî*, Arb. *kayy* (root *kawā*, “burn”).

χ: “this (is)”; the two “legs” may be a Z.

44 = 527

Location: In front of the main cliff of Rōḏ el-‘Air.

Description: Inscription carved on a piece of rock, facing upwards.

Photograph: Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. XCIV; Sass 1985, p. 21.

Drawing: Dijkstra 1983, 38; Sass 1985, p. 21.

Interpretation: Dijkstra 1983, 37; Sass 1985, 19-20 (citing also E. A. Knauf, 1984, Eine altkanaanäische Inschrift aus Rōḏ el-‘Air: Sinai 527, *Göttinger Miszellen* 70, 33-36).

l — ‘nt ...

For (l) ‘Anat.

This interpretation is supported by Dijkstra and Knauf. Černý and Sass see it as unintelligible Egyptian. Sass applies strict paleographical criteria to the characters, but this seems inappropriate for Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions, where no standard forms existed for the letters (unlike Egp. hieroglyphs and Phoenician alphabet signs); this was the pictographic stage, and so we simply read “crook” (l), “eye” (‘), “snake” (n), “cross” (t). However, analogies can be found in the Sinai texts for the L (41 = 381), the ‘ (4 = 346, 32 = 357), the N, reversed (16 = 363), the T (04 = 346, which has a diagonal cross and an upright cross, one above the other). Dijkstra takes the bar line (above ‘nt) as a word-divider (cp. inscriptions C.7 and C.12, and C.5, Colless 1988, 58), and the three dots as a full stop (cp. C.8, Colless 1988, 58). Sass says that the bar could have “one out of many meanings”, and the dots could be “the Egyptian plural strokes or mineral determinative”. While Sass allows that “there is no objection in principle to reading the inscription as Proto-Sinaitic or Proto-Canaanite”, he insists that “the shapes of the letters simply do not fit those of alphabetic letters of any given period”, and so he prefers to assert that the text is “unintelligible”. However, the inscription becomes intelligible when it is accepted as belonging to the experimental stage of the alphabet, as argued above.

/: “to, for”; Dijkstra has “(Dedicated) to”, and suggests that it is “a rock inscription commemorating the dedication of an altar to the goddess”.

nt: ‘Anat, sister and lover of Ba‘al in Ugaritic literature, and possibly equivalent to the Ba‘alat of other Sinai Semitic inscriptions and the Hathor of Egyptian texts from Sinai. Are the three dots (beneath the name ‘Anat) the Egp. mineral determinative (as on 03 = 345.2), and does this support the equation ‘Anat = Ba‘alat = Hathor?

CONCLUSIONS

If the interpretations offered here are ever shown to be correct, then it will need to be said that the Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions were first deciphered (as distinct from interpreted) by Romain Butin in 1932. This is because my readings of the texts and my system of sign-values are much the same as his. What I have done that is new is to interpret these documents along lines laid down by recent archaeological research: mines associated with these inscriptions have yielded finds connected with metalworking. This metallurgical clue has been combined with a previously unnoticed horticultural thread (they appear together in 24 = 353, for example); and the expected mining aspects are also present in the texts.

The inscriptions emerge from this threefold line of interpretation as basically labels, marking the location or allotted position of a mine (09, 10, 12, 13, 14, 25, 28, 29, 40), metallurgical equipment (11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 36), a spring (02) or a water-storage place (17?, 33?, 41?, 42?), a garden (24, 26), horticultural vessels (32, 33, 40), prisoners (08, 34?), metalworkers (34?, 37, 38, 43?), firewood (15, 20), a food-store (21), a grave (16).

There are also votive or dedicatory inscriptions (03, 04, 05, 06, 07; 30?, 31?, 44), personal graffiti (01, the sickness of Asa; 35, his obituary), and sets of instructions (32, on irrigation; 24 and 39, on rations).

Some of the inscribed slabs were in stone enclosures, which were understood as sleeping shelters by Petrie (1906, 67-70) and Butin (1932, 134: “built of loose stones piled in a circle, or oval, in the centre of which a little sand had been placed to make the ground softer for sleeping”), or as burial cairns (Albright 1948, 11).

Albright's view is applicable to the "cairn" of document 16, the grave of Asa; but other enclosures with inscriptions were simply for storage (17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 41).

The language of the inscriptions is undoubtedly Semitic; but in my interpretation it is not South Semitic (as in the Arabic theory of van den Branden, 1979, 170-173); nor is it East Semitic (in spite of some possible Akkadianisms: *'nt* "equipment" and *š* "of" in 32; *'st* "store" in 39, as against *'sm* in 21; *bb* "gate"? in 38). It is West Semitic, that is to say, Canaanite; and the likelihood is that the people who wrote the inscriptions were brought to Sinai from Canaan, as prisoners, to work as metalsmiths and miners. One place mentioned in the texts is Arwad (08), in the far north of Phoenicia, between Gubal (Byblos) and Ugarit.

The vocabulary of the inscriptions seems to have closest affinities with West Semitic (Hebrew, Phoenician, Ugaritic, and Aramaic). Some words are elsewhere attested only in Ugaritic: *knkn* "grave"? (16), *mk* "mine"? (10, 25).

There are dialectal differences in the masculine plural ending: *-m* in *šbtm* (39), but *-n* in *nšbn* (04, 22), *šbn* (08), *'hn* (22). The standard feminine singular and plural ending is *-t* (examples in 01, 03, 08, 16, 18, 22, 39, 41).

The 1st person singular pronoun is *'nk* (29) or *'n?* (27). The 3rd person masculine singular pronominal suffix is *-h* (35), and 1st person singular *-y* (03).

The case endings of nouns, being vowels (cp. Akd., Arb., Ugr.; Segert 1984, 50-52), could not be represented in this consonantal script. The fact that *m'bb b't* "beloved of Ba'alat" (23, 36) also appears as *m'bb't* (03, 10), seems to indicate that words in the construct state (masculine singular, at least) had no case ending. Masculine plural construct state is perhaps observable in *bn kr* "sons of the furnace"? (37, 38).

Regarding syntax, many sentences are of the simple "This (is)" type (03, 04, 08b, 13, 14, 23, 24.1, 24.3, 34, 38; 16, 22, 36); sometimes it is "I (am)" (27, 29); mostly there is no introductory pronoun, with the words functioning as mere labels (02, 07, 08a, 09, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43).

Verbal sentences exhibit examples of 3rd person singular masculine perfect (01, 35), and imperative mood (16.2, 24.2, 32).

The Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions thus appear to provide evidence not only for the earliest stage of the alphabet, but also for

the Canaanite language and its dialects, around the 15th century B.C.E., in the Late Bronze Age.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Akd. = Akkadian. Arb. = Arabic. Arm. = Aramaic. Egp. = Egyptian.
Hbr. = Hebrew. Phn. = Phoenician. Syr. = Syriac. Ugr. = Ugaritic.

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

345 = 03	01 = 376 Wadi Naşb
346 = 04	02 = 377 Wadi Naşb
347 = 05	03 = 345 Serabiṭ Temple
347a = 06	04 = 346 Temple
348 = 09	05 = 347 Temple
349 = 22	06 = 347a Temple
350 = 27	07 = 369 Temple
351 = 23	08 = 365 Serabiṭ Camp
352 = 28.1	09 = 348 Wadi Magharah
353 = 24	10 = 379 Mine G
354 = 25	11 = 380 Mine G
355 = 26	12 = 385 Mine A
356 = 29	13 = 361 Mine N
357 = 32	14 = 360 Mine K
358 = 35	15 = 371 Mine K
359 = 33	16 = 363 Mine L
360 = 14	17 = 367 Mine L
361 = 13	18 = 370 Mine L
362 = 20	19 = 372 Mine L
363 = 16	20 = 362 Mine L
364 = 37	21 = 368 Mine L
365 = 08	22 = 349 Mine L
366 = 28.2	23 = 351 Mine L
367 = 17	24 = 353 Mine L
368 = 21	25 = 354 Mine L
369 = 07	26 = 355 Mine L
370 = 18	27 = 350 Mine L
371 = 15	28 = 352 + 366, Mine L
372 = 19	29 = 356 Mine L
373 = 34	30 = 384 Mine L
374 = 36	31 = 378 Mine L
375 = 39	32 = 357 Mine L
376 = 01	33 = 359 Mine L?
377 = 02	34 = 373 Mine M
378 = 31	35 = 358 Mine M
379 = 10	36 = 374 Mine M
380 = 11	37 = 364 Mine M
381 = 41	38 = 382?
382 = 38	39 = 375 Mine M
383 = 40	40 = 383 Mine M
384 = 30	41 = 381 Mine M
385 = 12	42 = 386 Mine L
386 = 42	43 = 387 Mine L
387 = 43	44 = 527 Roḍ el 'Air
527 = 44	

The numbers of the inscriptions from 345 to 380 are according to Sass 1988.

I have rearranged the inscriptions here, and renumbered them from 01 to 44.

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ABRAHAM IBN EZRA'S BIBLICAL HEBREW LEXICON THE MINOR PROPHETS: I

BY

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA and ZIVA SHAVITSKY

The last few years have witnessed strong interest Ibn Ezra continues to arouse amongst scholars. Amongst major publications which have come to our notice, we mention:

1. Israel Levin, *Yalqut Avraham Ibn Ezra* [Abraham Ibn Ezra Reader] (New York/ Tel Aviv, 1985). [in Heb.]
2. Abe Lipshitz, "Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary on Joel", in S. Israeli, N. Lamm, Y. Raphael (eds), *Jubilee Volume in Honor of Moreinu Hagaon Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 994-1035. [in Heb.]
3. Idem, *Ibn Ezra. Commentary on Hosea. Edited and Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (New York, 1988).
4. Uriel Simon. *Shne peruše R. Avraham Ibn Ezra litre-'asar*. vol. 1 — Hosea, Joel and Amos (Ramat Gan, 1989). [in Heb.]

We note with interest that by some coincidence (?) both Lipshitz and Simon have tackled the same corpus. Since our earlier study⁽¹⁾ our own work has been progressing steadily. In two instalments we wish to present the results of our more recent work on the Minor Prophets. The format follows what was set earlier. Where the commentary on the Minor Prophets does not contain anything substantially new, but, for instance, adds more references only, we have not included those entries here, but simply incorporated the additional data into our master file, which we hope will be published ultimately, comprising the entire biblical exegetical corpus of Ibn Ezra that has survived.

Prof. Simon's above-mentioned publication no doubt represents a major landmark in modern research on Ibn Ezra's Bible exegesis. This is the first instalment of a long-term project, a modern super-commentary on a critical edition established on the basis of a very careful investigation of manuscript evidences. In this particular case, he also publishes for the first time "an alternative commentary" on the Minor Prophets. One can only wish him and his team a successful completion of this major scholarly project of immense value.

¹ "Abraham Ibn Ezra's Biblical Hebrew Lexicon: The Five Megilloths", vol. 25 (1987) 68-91; vol. 26 (1988) 80-111.

Prof. Simon constantly attempts to evaluate Ibn Ezra's position in the history of Bible exegesis in relation to his Jewish predecessors and immediate successors. We ourselves have made a similar attempt, though on a more limited scale for the time being. In this regard, one must tread somewhat cautiously, for when our commentator does not explicitly name a contemporary or earlier authority, and/or cite from him, and even when Ibn Ezra's interpretation accords with the latter, it is not always possible to establish with certainty whether it is a coincidence or a case of conscious/subconscious dependence of one on the other²).

אָן: used as weight (on Za 3.9).

אָק: /^ʔāvaq raglayim/ fig. applied to the flight of clouds (on Na 1.3).

אָנדה: w. ref. to living creatures (on Am 9.6).

אָדון = /ba'al/ "master" (on Am 4.1).

אָדמה: w. ref. to those who inhabit it (on Jl 1.10).

אָדרת: /'adderet šē'ār/, a kind of sack-cloth worn as a sign of mourning and penitence (on Za 13.4).

אהב Qal: opp. /ma'as/, cf. Ho 9.17 (on Ho 14.5).

Pi.: doubly tr., i.e. "to make sb love sb else" (on Ho 2.7).

אָהה: interj. of fear, and acc. to Jepheth <but not so in the extant Arabic version> the Alef is secondary (on Jl 1.15).

אוד: cf. Is 7.4 /zanvōt hā'udim/ (on Am 4.11).

אָוילי: formed like /'ahzāri/ (on Za 11.15).

אויביל: a substantive as in Dt 2.28 /'ōḥel bakkeseḥ/ <!>, though R. Jonah sees in it a variant of /'a'āḥil/ as in 2Sm 6.1 /wayyōsef 'od dāwid 'et kol bāḥur byīsrā'ēl/ <also with the syncope of Alef. See *Riqmah*, ed. Wilensky, p. 136, l. 20.> (on Ho 11.4).

אולם: located outside of /hēḥāl/ (on Jl 2.17).

אָן: Waw for Yod as in Ne 6.6 /w'attā hōwe lāhem lmeleḥ/ and Ex 9.3 /hinnē yad yhw hōyā/, or the Waw is original and /hāyā l-/ means "to come to be known as" (on Am 5.5).

אָן: "Baal" (on Ho 10.8).

אין: common noun as in Dt 26.14 /lō' 'āḥalti v'ōni mimmennu/ (on Ho 9.4).

אויפן: "chariot" (on Na 3.2).

אויפער: "wealth" (on Mi 6.10).

אור: opp. /'āfēlā/"darkness" (on Am 5.20); opp. /ḥōšēḥ/(on Mi 7.9).

² Cf. U. Simon, op. cit., pp. 181, 264, where it is pointed out that Ibn Ezra, in writing his commentaries, did not always have works by other scholars at his disposal, a circumstance partly attributable to his constant peregrination.

- אור** Hi.: “to make a fire, burn”, cf. Is 44.16 /rā’iti ’ur/ (on Ma 1.10).
- אָח**: “sibling” (on Am 1.9); “son of same parents” (on Ma 1.2); = /qarov/ “a relation, kinsman” (on Mi 5.2).
- אָחוּ**: cf. Gn 41.2,18 /bā’āḥu/ (on Ho 13.15).
- אָחֻה**: substantive derived from /’āḥ/ and formed like /šalwā/ (on Za 11.14).
- אָחֻרָן**: “western” in relation to Jerusalem (on Jl 2.20).
- אָחֻרִית**: “offspring” as in Dn 11.4 /wlō’ l’ahāritō/ (on Am 4.2, 9.1).
- אִיה**: “Where is ...?” (on Mi 7.10).
- אִיפָה**: a measure (on Za 5.6), for grain (on Am 8.5); a degree of punishment meted out on (Za 5.10).
- אִיפּוּא**: “where?” <cf. IE ad Gn 27.33, and see Simon ad Ho 13.10.> (on Ho 13.10).
- אִיךְ**: = /raq/ “only” (on Za 1.6).
- אִיכּוֹב**: the Alef is non-radical, as in /’eqdāḥ/ (on Mi 1.14). <So Men. 42.>
- אכל** Qal: ptc. act., w. reference to locust and cricket (on Ma 3.11); “to consume with fire” (on Am 7.4); intr., but virtually = “to devour one another” (on Ho 7.7).
Qal pass.: “to be burned with fire” (on Na 1.10).
- אִכָּר**: adj. of unique pattern, and the Alef is radical (on Jl 1.11). <See also Liptshitz ad loc.>
- אֵל**: understood (on Jl 1.14).
- אֵלֶּ**: /l’ēl yad-/ , “capability” (on Mi 2.1).
- אלה** Qal: “to say ‘woe to me’ (Mi 7.1 /’allay li/);” the initial Alef is not in lieu of Heh (so Jepheth <but see Lipshitz ad loc.>), but the word is synonymous with /y-l-l/ (on Jl 1.8). <Cf. Men., p. 43.> ; “to swear” as in Jud 17.2 /w’att’ālīt/ (on Ho 4.2).
- אֵלֶּה**: “curse” (on Za 5.3).
- אֵלֶּיךָ**: “husband” as in Pr 2.17 /ha’ōzevet ’alluf n’urehā/ (on Mi 7.5); “a person singled out, selected” (on Za 9.7); “leader” (on Za 12.5).
- אֵלֶּם**: “dumb” (on Hb 2.18). <So Men. 44.>
- אֵלֶּף**: for a large number (on Mi 6.7).
- אֵמָה**: a measure of length (on Za 5.2).
- אֵמִיץ**: strong of colour better visible from afar than any other colour, cf. /’ammiṣ/ (on Za 6.3).
- אֵמִיץ**: /’ammiṣ lēv/, opp. /yārē’ wraḥ lēvāv/ as in Dt 20.8 (on Am 2.16).
- אמלל** Po.: resulting in the loss of crops (on Na 1.4); with the reduplication of the Lamed; + /bḥayyat haššāde uv’ōf haššā-

mayim/ 'the hunter will find no game' and cf. the parallel /wgam dgē hayyām yē'āsēfu/ (on Ho 4.3).

אמן Hi.: as in Ex 4.31 /wayya'amēn hā'am/; + /bē'lōhim/ = /bidvar 'ēlōhim/ (on Jn 3.5).

Ni.: /ne'ēmān/ "a truthful judgement (in the sense of a sentence handed down)"; < on the fem. form >, cf. /gzera/ (on Ho 5.9).

אמר Qal: possibly "to think" (on Za 3.5).

אמר = /ma'amar/ "a saying" (on Hb 3.9).

אמת he who teaches according to /'ēmet/ does not take bribes (on Ma 2.6).

אנה both of time and place, so /hālōm/; cf. Dt 1.28 /'ānā 'ānahnu 'ōlim/ "to what place ...?" (on Hb 1.2).

אנוש adj. like /'āsumā/ and /bruḥā/; cf. Jer 30.12 /'ānuš lšivrēḥ/ and 2Sm 12.15 /wayyē'ānaš/ (on Mi 1.9).

אניה = /sfina/ "ship, boat" (on Jn 1.4). < So Men. 50, 270. >

אנך hapax, "lead" in Arabic < 'ānuk > (on Am 7.7).

אסף Qal: = /qibbeš/ "to gather" (on Za 14.2).

Pu.: "to come together (to assail)" (on Ho 10.10).

Ni.: "to die out" (on Ho 4.3).

אסף "what is gathered by the poor from the remaining fruits", and /'ospē/ pl.cst. as in /qodšē/ < despite the dagesh in the Peh > (on Mi 7.1).

אפקי /'āfiqē mayim/ where deep pools of plentiful water can be found (on Jl 1.20).

b. "an unusual, strong place" < cf. IE on Job 40.18 > (on Jl 4.18). < On the obscure רבים אינם in the comm., see Simon ad loc. >

אפקס pl. "border" (on Za 9.10).

אצל = /bimqōm/ "in the place where" (on Am 2.8 ad ib. 2.9).

אצר Qal: obj. "possessions" understood (on Am 3.10).

ארב "malicious thoughts and scheming" (on Ho 7.6).

ארבאל /bēt 'arbē'l/, a place name, and has nothing to do with /'ārav/ "to lie in wait" (on Ho 10.14). < So Dunash, acc. to Ra. ad loc. >

ארבה a species related to /yeleq/, /ḥāsil/, and /gāzām/ (on Jl 2.25).

ארזה "ceiling", cf. Is 22.6 /wqir 'ērā māgēn/ (on Ze 2.14).

ארך w. /'appayim/, "able to control one's anger" (on Na 1.3).

ארמון "royal residence" (on Am 3.9).

ארץ "inhabitants < of the earth >" (on Hb 2.20); "people of the land" (on Jl 2.10).

ארש Pi.: as in Dt 22.23 /btulā m'ōrāsā l'iš/ (on Ho 2.21).

אש: as manifestation of divine anger (on Mi 1.4); an instrument of divine judgement, cf. Is 66.16 /ki vā'ēš yhw̄h nišpāṭ/, or “intense, scorching heat” in a drought (on Am 7.4); w. ref. to drought (on Jl 1.19); metaph. of enemy, cf. Nu 21.28 /ki 'ēš yāš'ā mēḥešbōn/ (on Am 1.7).

אשה: “wife” (on Ho 3.1); applied metaphorically to a Jewish family or clan (on Za 5.7).

אשור: adj. formed like /'āšum/; /dereḥ 'āšur/ “trodden path” (on Ho 13.7).

אשׁוּשָׁה: as in Ct 2.5 /sammḥuni bā'āšišōt/ and 2Sm 6.19 /'āšišā 'eḥāt/ always with /yayin/ understood as the nomen rectum (on Ho 3.1).

אשם Qal: “to admit a guilt” (= Ra) or “to become desolate” as in Ho 14.1 /te'sam šōmrōn/, and Gn 47.19 /whā'ādāmā lō' tēšām/ with a missing Alef (on Ho 5.15 and see also on Ho 10.2, 14.1).

Ni.: same as in Ho 14.1 /te'sam šōmrōn/ (Qal) (on Jl 1.18).

אשר: /bimqōm 'āšer/ = Dt 28.47 /taḥat 'āšer/ (on Ho 2.1). < Cf. Lipshitz ad loc. >

את: cf. 1Sm 13.20 /'et maḥāraštō w'ēt 'etō/ (on Jl 4.10).

אתה: w. fin. verb “you by yourself” (on Za 6.10).

אֶתְמוּל: single word as in Is 30.33 /'āruḥ mē'tmul tofte/ (on Mi 2.8).

אתנה: the initial Alef is not radical, synon. with /mattānā/ “a gift”, and acc. to R. Jonah, /'etnan/ as in Dt 23.19, Mi 1.7 /'etnan zōnā/ (on Ho 2.14).

אתנן: “what is offered to idols and paid to prostitutes” (on Mi 1.7).

-ב: may be left out as in Ho 6.3 /kmalqōš yōre 'āreš/ for [...bā'āreš/ and Ex 20.11 /šēšet yāmim/ (on Ho 6.3); /ḥāmat miyyayin/ for /baḥāmat .../ (on Ho 7.5).

b. Indicates “part of, some of” (on Ho 6.5 /ḥāsavti bannvi'im/).

c. Beth *pretii* as in Gn 29.20 /wayya'āvōd ya'āqōv brāḥēl/ (on Jn 1.14; Jl 4.3, Mi 3.11, 6.7).

בד: “bough, branch” as in Ez 17.6 /watta'ās baddim/ (on Ho 11.6).

בָּדֵל: hapax, and acc. to Spanish scholars, “one ear” (on Am 3.12).

בוא Hif.: of crop (on Hg 1.6).

בז Qal: /baz/, from an Ayin-Waw root, cf. Pr 6.30 /yāvuzu laggan-nāv/ (on Za 4.10).

בן Ni.: /nāvōḥu/ of the same pattern as /nāḥōnu/ in Pr 19.29, and the ḥolem can become šuruq as in /nvuḥim/ (Ex 14.3) < cf. IE ad Ex 14.3 > (on Jl 1.18).

בוש Qal: /yēvōš/ = /yivaš/, or “to disappoint” <from /bōš/> (on Ho 13.15).

Hi.: different root from /y-b-š/ (cf. Jl 1.11 /hōvišu ’ikkārim/) but syn., root alternation as in /yāʿaš/ vs. Is 8.10 /ʿušu ʿēšā/ (on Jl 2.26).

בוש /bošnā/ with a secondary Nun as in Job 42.13 /šivʿānā vānim/ (on Ho 10.6).

בוֹשֶׁת: a name of a pagan god as in Jer 3.24 /whabbōšet ʾāhlā ʾet ygiaʿ ʾāvōtēnu/ (on Ho 9.10).

בזז Qal: /yvozzum/, of a geminate root with a qamaṣ qaṭan equivalent to šuruq (on Ze 2.9).

בְּחֹרִי: inclined to pleasures and comforts (on Am 2.11).

בחל Qal: w. /nefeš/ as subj., hapax and synonymous with /qāšrā nefeš/ (on Za 11.8).

בֵּית: “members of a household or dynasty” (on Am 1.4). /bēt yiśrāʾēl/ possibly applied to the Sanhedrin (on Ho 5.1). /bayit gādōl/---acc. to some, “prince and his men” (on Am 6.11).

בְּכוֹר: which does not last long (on Ho 9.10).

בְּכִי: accompanying confession of sins (on Jl 2.12).

בָּלִי: /mibbli/, “from want of” (on Ho 4.6).

בלל Hithpo.: “to be mixed”, cf. Ex 29.40 /bālul/ (on Ho 7.8). <So Men., 84.>

בלס Qal: hapax, in Arabic “to dry” <for an account of this wrong etymology, see Bacher, 165> (on Am 7.14 ad ib. 7.15), or “to scratch <figs> in order to make them sweet” (on Am 7.14B).

בלק Pu.: f.ptc., “desolation, waste land”, syn. w. /buqā/ (on Na 2.11).

בָּקָה: not = “ruler” (on Mi 1.3).

בֶּן: opp. to /zāqēn/ “elderly” (on Am 2.11).

בִּן /bin/ like in /bin nun/ and Dt 25.2 /whāyā ʾim bin hakkōt hārāšāʾ/ (on Jn 4.10 /bin laylā/).

בְּעַד: “on account of”, but acc. to R. Joshua “towards” (on Am 9.10).

בעה Ni.: as in Is 21.12 /ʾim tivʿāyun bʿāyu/ (on Ob 6).

בעל Qal: as in Is 62.5 /ki yivʿal bāḥur btulā/ (on Ma 2.11).

בְּעַל: cf. Ho 2.15 /ymē habbʿālim/ “the days of Baals”, i.e. the time when Israel worshipped them, and R. Jonah points out the ambiguity arising from the use of the word, which can denote the object of idolatry, or simply ‘husband’ as in Is 62.5 /yivʿal bāḥur btulā/ (on Ho 2.18).

בצע Qal: = /p-š-/ “to wound” <so Ra.> (on Am 9.1). **b.** “to be wounded”, cf. Am 9.1 /uvša’am brōš kullām/ (on Jl 2.8).

בצצע: “possessions” (on Mi 4.13).

בקע Pu.: /yvuqqā’u/ w. f.pl. subj. as in Ct 2.7, 3.5 /’im tā’iru w’im t’ōrru/ (on Ho 14.1).

בקק Qal: “empty, unproductive” (of a fruit tree) (on Ho 10.1; and ib.B); the obj. ending of Na 2.3 /bqāqum/ indicates that the verb is transitive; “to turn into a fruitless vine” (on Na 2.3).

בקר Qal ptc.: “herdsman” (on Am 7.14).

בָּקֶר: /babbōqer babbōqer/ “every single day” (on Ze 3.5). <So Men. 316.>

בָּרוּשׁ: a tree not bearing-fruit (on Ho 14.9).

ברח Qal: unusually with /millifnē-/ to indicate rebellion, and not with /mippnē-/ as in Ps 139.7, Jdg 11.3 (on Jn 1.3 ad ib. 1.1).

בָּרִיא: /še/ or /’aḥila/ understood (on Hb 1.16).

בָּרִית: to be entered by oath (on Za 11.10).

בשם hapax, “to do wrong” (on Am 5.11). <Men.: perh. “plundering”, and cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 51.>

בָּשַׁת: “feeling ashamed” (on Ze 3.19); in exile and captivity (on Mi 1.11).

בת: /bat ’ēl nēḥār/, a woman who practises idolatry (on Ma 2.11).

בָּאֲוֶה: characteristic of the arrogant (on Ze 3.11).

בָּאוֹן: “revered name” (on Am 8.7 /g’ōn ya’āqōv/).

גאל Ni.: cf. Ma 1.7 /leḥem mgō’āl/ <so Men. 95> ; R. Moses derives the word from /g’ullā/ (on Ze 3.1).

גבה Hi.: a trans. verb with the object “habitation” understood, cf. Ps 113.5 /hammagbihi lāševet/ (on Ob 4).

גִּבּוֹר: “strong man” as antonym of /ḥallās/ (on Jl 4.10); w. ref. to angel (on Jl 4.11); pl., constituting a great army (on Jl 4.9).

גִּבִּי: “locust” <so Men. 97> as in Trg (on Am 7.1).

גבל Qal: “to set a limit” (on Za 9.2).

גִּבְעָה: “hill” (on Ze 1.10).

גִּבֹּר: “male” (on Jl 2.8).

גבר Pi.: “to give strength” (on Za 10.12).

גִּדּוּד: “army of troops” (on Mi 4.14).

גָּדוֹל: applied to a day of disaster (on Ho 2.2).

גדל Hi.: + /la’āsōt/ either to benefit or to harm (on Jl 2.21); obj. /lšōnām/ or /ḥerpātām/ understood (on Ze 2.10).

גדר Qal: /gādar 'et gdērāh/, “to put a fence in her path” as in La 3.9 /gādar drāḥay bgāzit/ (on Ho 2.8).

גְּדֵרָה: “city wall” (on Na 3.17).

גהה Qal: apparently related to Pr 17.22 /yēṭiv gēhā/ (on Ho 5.13).

גוד Qal: cf. /gdud/ (on Hb 3.16).

גוח Qal: “to draw forth a babe from womb” as in Ps 22.10 /ki 'attā gōḥi mibbāten/ (on Mi 4.10).

גְּוִיהָ: “war dead” (on Na 3.3).

גור Qal: “to fear” (on Ho 10.5). Hithpo.: “to gather, assemble (for revelling)”, cf. Jl 1.17 /nehersu mammgurōt/ (on Ho 7.14). < Cf. Men., 113. >

גז: of a geminate root, cf. Ps 72.6 /yērēd kmāṭār 'al gēz/ (on Am 7.1 ad ib. 7.2).

גוז Qal: with hair of head as obj., cf. Job 1.20 /wayyāgoz 'et rō'šō/ (on Mi 1.16).

גזל Qal: by force (on Mi 2.2).

גָּזַם: related to /'arbe/, and acc. to Jepheth, = /gōzēz/ “one which cuts down”, with a secondary Mem as in /ḥinnām/ (on Jl 1.4 ad Jl 1.2). < So Saadia, *Egron*, p. 207. >

גַּי: = /'ereṣ/ “ground” (on Mi 1.6).

גיל Qal: = /śamah/ “to rejoice” (on Hb 3.18); antonym of /hit'abbēl/ “to mourn” (on Ho 10.5); opp. Jl 2.12 /mispēd/ (on Jl 2.21).

גל: pl., fig. of a multitude of conspicuous objects (on Ho 12.12).

גִּלְהָ: as in Jdg 1.15 /gullōt 'illit/ (on Za 4.2).

גלל Ni.: /yiggal/ from a geminate root, from which is derived /gullā/ in Jdg 1.15 /gullōt 'illit/ (on Am 5.24); “not to cease”, cf. Is 48.18 /wayhi ḥannāhār šlōmeḥā/ (on Am 5.24 ad ib. 5.25).

גָּלַל: as in Ez 4.12 /bgellē šē'at hā'ādām/ (on Ze 1.17). < So Men. 105. >

גָּמוּל: “deed (often injurious) done to sbd”; /hēšiv gmul brō'š-/ “to revenge” (on Jl 4.7).

גָּנַב: operates in secret (on Ob 5).

גער Qal: obj. /zera'/, resulting in infertility (on Ma 2.3).

גרם Qal: “to break bones” (on Ze 3.3). < So Men. 113. >

גור Qal: “to collect” as in Ho 7.14 /yitgōrāru yāsuru vi/ (on Hb 1.15). < So Men. 23 and 112f. >

גָּשַׁם: syn. with /māṭār/ of Dt 32.2 (on Ho 6.3).

דָּבָר: “plague” in /'ēhi dvāreḥā māwet 'ēhi qoṭovḥā/, as shown by Ps 91.6 /middever bā'ōfel yahālōḥ miqṣeṭev yāšud šohōrāyim/ (on Ho 13.14); capable of killing (on Hb 3.5). < So Men. 119. >

[דֹּבַר]: “sheep pen”, cf. 1Kg 5.23 /dōvrōt bayyām/(on Mi 2.12). < So Men. 119.>

דָּגָה: syn. with /dāg/, both being generic nouns like /šedeq/ and /šdāqā/ (on Jn 2.2).

דָּהַר Qal: cf. Jdg 5.22 /middahārōt dahārōt ’abbirāw/ (on Na 3.2).

דִּגְוָה: “fish” (on Am 4.2).

דֹּד = /qarov/ “kinsman” (on Am 6.10).

דוּמָם: “without making a noise, silently”, cf. Ex 15.16 /yidmu kā’āven/, and with adverbial Mem suffix as in /rēqām/ and /hinnām/; from a geminate root (so R. Judah) (on Hb 2.19).

דוֹר: has no fixed number of years (on Jl 1.3).

דוּשׁ Qal: cf. 2Kg 13.7 /wayšimēm ke’āfār lāduš/ (on Am 1.3).

דִּי: /bdē/ “enough, sufficiently” (on Hb 2.13); cf. Lv 25.28 /dē hāšiv lō/ and ib. 5.7,12.8 /dē še/ (on Na 2.13). /’ad bli dāy/, “more than enough” (on Ma 3.10).

דָּל = /šāfēl/ “lowly” (on Am 2.7).

דָּם: pl. <“blood”> of the slain consumed by idolaters (on Za 9.7); of the murdered (on Ho 4.2); red in colour (on Jl 3.4); shed, poured (on Ho 6.8).

דָּמָה Qal: “to annihilate” (on Ho 4.5).

Ni.: “to be annihilated”, as in Ho 10.7 /nidme šōmrōn/ (on Ob 5; Ze 1.11); = /niḥrat/ “to be exterminated” (on Ho 10.15).

דָּמָה Pi.: “to speak in parables in order to be more easily understood” (on Ho 12.11).

דָּמָה Ni.: with /’el/ “to resemble” as in Ez 31.2,18 /’el mi dāmitā/, but absolutely “to be annihilated”, i.e. no descendant left, as in Ho 4.5 /wdāmiti ’immeḥā/ (on Ho 4.6).

דָּמַם Qal: “(to keep quiet) and not speak up” (on Am 5.13).

דִּמְשָׁק: in view of parallelism, prob. syn. with /pē’ā/ “corner”, but perh. composed of two words like Dn 8.13 /palmōni/(on Am 3.12).

דָּרַךְ Qal: “to lead” (on Hb 3.15). b. + /’al/, “to have dominion, rule” (on Mi 1.3).

Hi.: “to prevent one from stumbling” (on Hb 3.19).

דֶּרֶךְ = /’orah/ “path” (on Am 2.7).

דָּשָׁה Qal: of desert pastures, opp. scorched pastures as in Jl 1.19,20 (on Jl 2.22).

-ה: interrogative as in Gn 43.7 /ha’ōd ’āviḥem ḥay/; when followed by a guttural, pointed with pataḥ (on Hg 2.19); introducing a rhetorical question (on Am 5.25; 6.2); *pace* R. Judah Ha-Levi,

unwarranted to understand Heh interrogativum before /gam/ (on Za 8.6).

הַבָּבֶה: with Jepheth, the Yod in /havhāvay/ is secondary as in /šāday/ (on Ho 8.13).

הֵי: for /hōy/ (on Am 5.16). < So also Men., 140. >

הוֹד: regal (on Za 6.13); causes awe (on Hb 3.3).

הֵנָּה: as in Ps 55.12 /hawwōt bqirbāh/ (on Mi 7.3).

הוּ: acc. to some, = /ōy/, or exclamatory as in Za 2.11 /hōy šiyyōn himmālṭi/ (on Na 3.1; Za 2.10).

הִיָּה: /'ēhi/, not “where?” by metathesis, but “I will be” (on Ho 13.10); /'ēhi/ = /'ehye/ (on Ho 13.14). < So Men., 29f. >

הִיָּה Ni.: /nimṣa'/ “to be found, in existence” (on Za 8.10); cf. /šhar hā'ādām lō' niyhā/; acc. to some, = “to be sick” as in Dn 8.27 /nihyēti wneḥēlēti/ (on Mi 2.4).

הֵיכָל: /hēḥal qōdeš/ of God = “heavens” as in Ps 11.4 /yhwh bhēḥal qodšō/ (on Jn 2.5 ad ib. 2.2); to serve for defence (on Ho 8.14).

הָלָא Ni.: “to be far removed from here”, derived from /hāl'ā/, not from /tlā'ā/, the root of which is *t-l-'* (on Mi 4.7).

הָלָזָה: = /hallāze/ (on Za 2.8).

הָלַךְ qal: + /lnā'ārā/as prostitute (on Am 2.9 ad ib. 2.7); + /mippnē/ “to backslide” (on Ho 11.2).

Hith.: “to roam about” (on Za 1.10).

הַמִּוִּן: “crowd” or “roaring”, the roaring of the sea compared to that of a choir < cf. Is 14.11 /hemyat nvāleḥā/ (on Am 5.23). >

הָסָא: “to remain silent” (on Am 6.10) < So also Men., 142. > ; as in Ex 15.16 /yiddmu kā'āven/ (on Za 2.17).

הִפָּךְ Ni.: not = “to turn away from”, cf. Jer 18.7ff. (on Jn 3.4).

הַצָּבָה: name of a queen (Samuel ha-Nagid) (on Na 2.8).

הָרָה: /hārōt/, a variant pl. synonymous with /hārim/ like /šnōt/ vs. /šānim/, but others derive the form from the root /h-r-h/ “to conceive” (on Am 1.13).

הַרְמוֹן: “towards a mountain” or a place name (on Am 4.3). < Cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 156, n. 11. >

וְ: “and further” (on Hg 1.12). < Cf. Men. 146. >

2. = /'aval/ “but” (on Ob 17).

3. may be omitted where it has the cumulative force as in Hb 3.11 /šemeš yārēaḥ 'āmad zvuḥā/ (on Ho 4.11 < Did IE's Heb. text lack the Waw before /yayin/, which is unlikely, or is he referring to the absence of the conjunction before /znut/? Cf. Lipshitz, ad loc., n.

31 > ; Ze 3.10); also in general as in 1Ch 1.1 /'ādām šēt/ (on Ho 6.3 /kmalqōš yōre/).

זבח Pi.: “to cause or induce to offer sacrifices” (on Ho 4.13).

זִד: synonymous with /'ōšē riš'ā/ (on Ma 3.19).

זוע Pilp.: cf. Est 5.9 /wlō' zā' mimmennu/ (on Hb 2.7).

זחל Qal: “to fear”, hence ptc. “insect feared by men”, cf. Job 32.6 /zāḥalti wā'irā/ (on Mi 7.17).

זית: of olive tree (on Za 4.3).

זֶכֶר: “smell, scent”, cp. Lv 2.2 etc. /'azkārātāh/ (on Ho 14.8).

זִמְרָה: cf. Nu 13.23 /wayyihrtu miššām zmōrā/ (on Na 2.3).

זנה Hi.: tr. vb., obj. “himself” and “others” understood (on Ho 4.10, 18, 5.3).

זנה: /zōnā/, alw. in the literal sense, except in 1Kg 22.38 /hazzōnōt rāḥāšu/ <cf. Trg ad loc.>, where the noun has a meaning similar to Dt 23.14 /'āzēnehā/ with secondary Alef (on Jl 4.3).

זְנוּנִים: the second radical doubled as in Ps 5.2 /binā ḥāgigi/ (on Ho 2.4).

זָנוּת: a hint at the idolatrous calves at Bethel (on Ho 6.10).

זַעַם: related to /zā'am/ “to become enraged” (on Hb 3.12).

זַעַף: figuratively used of the sea, cf. Gn 40.6 (on Jn 1.15).

זַעַק Qal: of witness (on Hb 2.11).

זִרְוֹעַ fig. “force, might” (on Za 11.17).

זרע Qal: “to increase the seed (= posterity) of” <cf. Men. 163 > (on Za 10.9).

Ni.: “to have one's name continued in one's descendants” (on Na 1.14).

זרק Qal: tr. (on Ho 7.9 /šēvā zārqā bō/ with “human nature” as the subject).

הַבְּיֹן: “concealed (ark)”, cf. Ps 132.8, 2Ch 6.41 /'attā wā'ārōn 'uzzehā/, and also Ex 40.38 <so Men. 165 >. The root is either *ḥ-b-*, or *ḥ-b-y*, cf. Is 26.20 /ḥāvi kim'aṭ rega' ad ya'āvor zā'am/ (on Hb 3.4).

חבל Pi.: cf. Ec 5.5 /wḥibbēl 'et ma'āsē yādeḥā/ and Is 13.8 /širim waḥvālim/ (on Mi 2.10).

חֶבֶל: tied to a ploughing heifer (on Ho 11.4); **b**. “portion, part” (on Ze 2.7); cf. Ps 105.11 /ḥevel naḥālathem/ (on Ze 2.5).

חָבַל: “one who puts up a rope of a ship's mast” (on Jn 1.6). /ḥōvlim/, cf. /taḥbulōt/ (on Za 11.7).

חבר Qal: /ḥāvur ʿāṣabbim/ “associated with idols, in the company of idols” (on Ho 4.17).

חבש Qal: as in Is 1.6 /lōʾ ḥubbāšu/, for a wound needs pressing out, bandaging, and finally mollifying with oil (on Ho 6.1).

חג: of offerings brought on holy days as in Ps 118.27 /ʾisru ḥag baʿāvōtim/ (on Ma 2.3); “(sacrificial) lamb”, cf. Ps 118.27 and Is 29.1 /ḥaggim yinqōfu/ (on Am 5.21).

חגר Qal: abs. w. /šaq/ as obj. understood (on Jl 1.13).

חדש: “the first day of a month”, so called as the new moon appears then (on Ho 2.13)

חול Qal: <“to tremble”> at great noise (on Hb 3.10); as in 2Sm 3.29 /yāḥulu ʿal rōʾš yōʾāv/ and La 4.6 /wlōʾ ḥālu vāh yādāyim/ (on Ho 11.6); cf. Is 66.8 /ki ḥālā gam yāldā/ (on Mi 4.10).

חומה: built for protecting <inhabitants inside> (on Za 2.9).

חוץ: “the outside (of a city)” (on Ho 7.1).

חותם: placed on the right hand, and fig. (on Hg 2.23).

חזיון: cf. Job 28.26, 38.25 /laḥāziz qōlōt/ <so Men. p. 171.> (on Za 10.1).

חטא = /rašʾ/ “wicked person” (on Am 9.10).

חטאת: “punishment” as in La 4.6 /mēḥaṭṭaʾt sdōm/ (on Za 14.19).

חי: /ḥayyim/ = /nšama/ “life” (on Jn 2.7).

חידה: “enigma” (on Hb 2.6).

חיה Qal: = /nimlaṭ/ “to survive” (on Hb 2.4); opp. “to die” (on Am 5.4).

חיה Pi.: “to heal” as in Is 38.21 /wyimrḥu ʿal haššḥin wyehi/ and Jos 5.8 /ʿad ḥāyōtām/ (on Ho 6.2). <So Saadia, *Egron*, p. 220.>

חיל Qal: related to /ḥil/ (on Mi 1.12).

חכה Pi.: “to wait”, <so Men., 174>; **חכי**, an irregular inf. for **חכות**, and with Yod instead of Heh as in Dn 9.24 /ḥalleʾ happešaʾ/ with Alef for Heh (on Ho 6.9).

חלה Pi.: + /pnē/, through prayer (on Ma 1.9).

חלה Hi., tr., /heḥēlu/ is related to /ḥōliy/ with /malkēnu/ as the object and /šārim/ as the subject; on the initial seghol, cf. /herʾā/; on the transitivity, cf. Pr 13.12 /maḥālā lēv/; “(to make sick) by intoxicating” (on Ho 7.5).

Ni.: /naḥlā/ either pf. or ptc., related to /ḥōliy/ (on Na 3.19).

חלחלה: = /ḥil whilā/ “acute anguish” (on Na 2.11).

חלקיה: a woman’s ornamental accessory (/ḥāli/ in the commentary) to be worn around the neck (on Ho 2.15). <Men., 174: “roundness”.>

- חֶלֶץ** Qal: cf. Ho 5.15 /'ēlēh 'āšuvā 'el mḳōmi/, and prob. intr. < see also Simon ad loc. > (on Ho 5.6, < and cf. Ra and Men., 177 >).
- חֶלֶק**: “plot of land” (on Am 7.4).
- חֶלֶק** Qal: “to be divided” (of heart) (on Ho 10.2).
- חֶם**: of the same formation as /qōr/ from a geminate root; cf. Ps 39.4 /ḥam libbi bḳirbi/ (on Hg 1.6).
- חֶמור**: a more humble beast than horse (on Za 9.9).
- חָמַס** Qal: “to fail to judge justly and to extort money unjustly” (on Ze 3.4).
- חָמָס**: “wicked act done openly” (on Ze 3.4); “that which has one gained by unjust force” (on Ze 1.9).
- חֶמֶר**: some kind of food (on Ho 3.2).
- חֶמֶת**: cf. Gn 21.14 /ḥēmat mayim/ (on Hb 2.15); /ḥāmat/ is cst. like /< * > dlat/ in Is 26.20 /usgōr dlāthā ba'ādeḥā/, and cf. Hb 2.15 /msappēah ḥāmāthā w'af šakkēr/ < but how can this be reconciled with Gn 21.14 /ḥē' mat mayim/? >; “(wine-)skin”, cf. Gn 21.15 /min haḥēmet/ (on Ho 7.5).
- חָנָף** Qal: “to be profane” (on Mi 4.11).
- חֶסֶד**: either < in the usual sense > or as in Lv 20.17 /ḥesed hu'/ (on Jn 2.9).
- חֶסֶל**: related to /'arbe/ and cf. Dt 28.38 /yaḥslennu hā'arbe/ (on Jl 1.4 ad Jl 1.2). < See also Lipshitz ad loc. >
- חֶפֶץ**: /kli 'ēn ḥēfeš bō/ which would be thrown out of the house (on Ho 8.8).
- חַצֵּב** Qal: as in 1Kg 5.29, 2Ch 2.1, 17 /ḥōṣēv bāhār/, fig. for killing (on Ho 6.5).
- חֶק**: “apportioned amount of tribute to pay” (on Mi 7.11).
- חֶרֶב**: symbol of strength (on Mi 5.5).
- חֶרֶב**: cf. Hg 1.11 /wā'eqrā' ḥōrev 'al hā'āreš w'al hehārim/ (on Ze 2.14).
- חֶרֶבָה** = יבִשָּׁה [not in Shocken ed., see Ms Vat.] “dry land” (on Hg 2.6).
- חֶרוֹל**: “a kind of thorny plant”, cf. Pr 24.31 /kossu fānāw ḥārullim/ (on Ze 2.9).
- חֶרוֹן**: /lō' 'āsā ḥārōn 'appō/ “he contained his anger” (on Ho 11.9).
- חֶרֶשׁ**: of deafeningly strong wind (so R. Jonah, < who however takes it to mean “cold and dry” >. Cf. Ra. ad loc., and Trg. / ṣṭiqṭā/) (on Jn 4.8).
- חֶרֶם**: 1. “net”, cf. Ez 26.5, 14 /miṣṭaḥ ḥārāmim/, or possibly figuratively referring to idol (on Hb 1.15, Mi 7.2). 2. “trap” (on Hb 1.17).

חָרָף: caused by famine (on Jl 2.17).

חָרַץ Qal: pass.ptc., “decided”, cf. Is 10.23, 28.22 /ki ḥālā wneḥērāšā/ (on Jl 4.14).

חָרַשׁ Hi.: “to leave unmentioned” (on Ze 3.17).

חָשַׁף Qal: “to bare (the bark of a tree)” (on Jl 1.7). <Cf. Men., 192.>

חָשַׁף Qal: “to draw (liquid such as rain-water from a cistern)” (on Hg 2.16).

חָשַׁב Pi.: figuratively with “ship” as subj., cf. Ez 14.12 /ʾereṣ ki teḥēṭā li/ (on Jn 1.4).

חָשַׁךְ Hi.: cf. Mi 3.6 /wqādar ʾālēhem hayyōm/ (on Am 8.9).

חָשַׁךְ = /qadrut/ “darkness” (on Jl 3.4); cf. Mi 3.6 /wqādar ʾālēhem hayyōm/ (on Ze 1.15); with a blinding effect (on Na 1.8).

חָתַר Qal: used of oarsman whose action resembles that of a digger (on Jn 1.13). <Cf. Men. 194.>

חָתַת Ni.: cf. Jb 6.21 /tirʾu ḥātat wattirāʾu/ (on Ma 2.5).

חָתַר Pi.: obj. “silver”, from impure substance (Ma 3.3).

טוֹב adj. used substantivally as in Gn 23.3 /mēʿal pnē mētō/ (on Mi 7.4 /tōvām/); “a good thing” or “good conduct” (on Am 5.14); a “good” person speaks up for the cause of justice and integrity (on Am 5.15); substantivally, “a good, kindly one” w. ref. to the God of Israel (on Ho 8.3).

טוֹב: “happiness, merriment” characteristic of a banquet (on Za 9.17).

טוֹל Hi.: “to throw, hurl” (on Jn 1.4).

טָל: brings moist (on Ho 14.5).

טִעַם: “judgement, opinion” as in Ps 34.1 /bšannōtō ʾet ṭaʾmō/ (on Jn 3.7). <Cf. Men. 199.>

טָפַס: “prince, ruler”, a hapax quadriliteral (on Na 3.17).

טָרַף Qal: subj. /kfir/ “young lion” (on Ho 6.1).

יָאֹר: also spelt without Yod as in Am 9.5 (on Am 8.8).

יָאֵל Hi.: two past tense verbs <asyndetically joined> as in Ct 2.11 /haggešem ḥālaf ḥālah lō/ (on Ho 5.11).

יָבֹל: cf. Lv 26.4 /wnātnā hāʾāreṣ yvulāh/ (on Hb 3.17).

יָבֹשָׁהּ: Pi. with another Yod deleted for euphony’s sake (Na 1.4).

Hi.: “herself” understood as the obj. (on Ho 2.7); figuratively w. /gefen/ as subj., so Jl 1.12 w. /šāšōn/ (on Jl 1.12). <Acc. to IE, the root is /b-w-š/.>

יָבֹשָׁהּ = /haʾareṣ/ “the earth, land” (on Jn 1.9).

יָעַר Hi.: “to make intolerable” (on Ma 2.17).

יָדָד is preterital impf. for pf. as is shown by La 3.53 **יָדָד אֲבָן** <root **יָדָד**>, or alternatively a perfect from a geminate root, but in view of Zech 2.4 **לִיָּדוֹת** it may be Lamed-Heh (on Jl 4.3).

יָדָה Pi.: “to throw, cast”, cf. Jl 4.3, Ob 11, Na 3.10 /yaddu gōrāl/ (on Za 2.4).

יָדַע Qal: “to acknowledge (favour)” (on Mi 6.5). **b.** = /hikkir/ “to be personally and favourably acquainted with” (on Na 1.7). **c.** “to be aware of sbd’s needs” (on Ho 13.5). /mi yōdēa’/, “perhaps” (on Jn 3.9).

יָהַב /hēvu/, something to do with giving <so Men., 134>, and gift; the form is a Pe-Yodh impv. like /rdu, ṣ’u/, the irregular vowel as in Ex 16.23 /ēfu/ being due to the guttural (on Ho 4.18). <On the ascription of this note to IE, cf. Friedlaender, *Essays*, p. 167.>

יָהִיר: “given to arrogance” (on Hb 2.5).

יּוֹם /yōm yhw/, “day of divine vengeance” (on Am 5.18).

b. “daytime” as against night, and /hayyōm/ = /bayyōm/ (on Ho 4.5). **c.** “the sun” as the most essential feature of the day <(as against the night)> as in Gn 18.1 /kḥōm hayyōm/ and Jdg 19.11 /whayyōm rad m’ōd/ (ad Ma 3.20). **d.** “time” (/ēt/) (on Am 9.11); du. “a short time” (on Ho 6.2). **e.** “year” (on Am 4.4).

יוֹנָה /yōnā pōtā/ as a symbol of thoughtlessness and imprudence (on Ho 7.11).

יּוֹרָה: <“early rain”> *pace* the universal view that the word means “he instructs” <but see Ra. ad loc> (on Ho 10.12).

יָחַד = /’al dereḥ ’eḥad/ “uniformly, in like manner” (on Ho 11.7).

יָחִיד: “only son” (on Am 8.10).

יָטַב Qal: “to be good” (on Na 3.8).

Hi.: the inf. abs. used to reinforce the verbal notion as in Dt 9.21 /wā’ekkōt ’ōtō ṭāḥōn hēṭēv/ “thorough grinding”, *pace* Jepheth, for whom the form means “to deal kindly” (on Jn 4.4). <Cf. Radaq, = /m’od/, and Aram. /lṭāv/>.

יָכַח Hi.: an object is understood (on Ho 4.4).

יָלַל Hi.: “to wail, lament” (on Ho 7.14).

יָלַק: related to /’arbe/, and called /yōlēq/ as it licks with its tongue (on Jl 1.4 ad Jl 1.2).

יָם: on the use of the pl., cf. Ex 7.19 /’al y’ōrēhem/ <see IE’s comm. ad loc.> (on Jn 2.4); = /ma’ārāv/ “west” (on Ho 11.10).

יֵנָה /yōnā/, cf. Ex 22.20 /lō’ tōne/, or “silly dove” (cf. Ho 7.11) known for its beauty, cf. Ct 5.2, 6.9 /yōnāti tammāti/ (on Ze 3.1).

יִסֶּף Hi.: asyndetically with a foll. imperf., as in Ho 6.3 /wnēd'ā nirdfā/, 1Sm 2.3 /'al tarbu tdabbu/ (on Ho 1.6).

יִסַּר Qal: /'essōrēm/ from /y-s-r/ with the suppressed Yodh compensated by the gemination of /s/ as in Jer 1.5 /b'ṭerem 'eššorhā/ and Is 44.3 /ki 'eššoḳ mayim/ (on Ho 10.10).

Pi.: tr. with the object understood, and cf. Ho 11.3 /w'ānōhī tīrgalti l'efrayim/ (on Ho 7.15). /'aysirēm/, Hi. with a Yodh instead of the usual Waw, as in Pr 4.25 /w'af'appehā yayširu negdehā/, but like Pi. in meaning (on Ho 7.12 and cf. Ra. ad loc.).

יַעַן: “on account of”; /ya'an me/ “what for?” (on Hg 1.9); with Jepheth (on Ho 8.1).

יָצָא Qal: intr., even in Jer 10.20 /bānay yšā'uni/, where the verb means “went out from me”, or it may be either tr. or intr. just like /šāv/, and this in view of the parallel /taš'ir/ (on Am 5.3).

יָצַב Hit.: cf. Job 1.6, 2.1 /lhityaššēv 'al yhw/ (on Za 6.5).

יָצָהָ: “oil” (on Za 4.14).

יָצַר Qal: “to shape, mould” (on Hb 2.18).

יָקַץ Qal: יָקָצוּ = יִיקָצוּ (on Hb 2.7).

יָקָר: applied to /'āv/ “cloud” (on Za 14.6).

יָקָר: substantive used as modifier, cf. Est 8.16 /w'sāsōn wiqār/ (on Za 11.13).

יָרָא Qal: “to fear, stand in awe” (on Ho 10.3); related to Jl 2.11 /nōrā/ “fearsome” (on Jl 2.21). <Perh. in IE's copy of the Bible the lemma was written defectively, תִּרְאִי.>

יָרָא: /yir'ē yhw/, w. ref. to the righteous (on Ma 3.16).

יָרֶקֶן: causes the colour of ears of corn to turn green (on Am 4.9; Hg 2.17); a natural disaster mentioned along with hail (on Hg 2.17).

יָרַשׁ Qal: with hostile intent (on Mi 1.15).

יָשַׁב Qal: (“to sit”) of a court as in Ps 107.32 /mōšav zqēnim/ and Ps 69.13 /yōšvē ša'ar/ (on Am 6.3).

יָשַׁב Hi.: = /hešiv švut/ “to bring home from exile” (on Ho 11.11).

[יָשַׁח]: opp. /ga'āwā/ “pride” (on Mi 6.14).

יָשַׁע Hi.: “to judge” (on Ob 21).

יָשַׁע = /yšu'a/ “salvation” (on Hb 3.13); related to /hošia'/ “to save” (on Hb 3.18).

יָתוֹם: helpless creature (on Ho 14.4).

יָתַר Ni.: = /nimlat/ “to be spared, survive” (on Za 13.8).

כֹּ: understood, so also in Ob 7 /'ēn tvunā bō/, which is = /'ēn k'iš 'āšer 'ēn tvunā bō/ as in Is 40.29 /ul'ēn 'ōnim 'ošmā yarbe/, which

is = /ula'āšer 'ēn 'ōnim lō yarbe 'ošmā/ (on Ob 3 /šōḥni vḥagwē sela').

כבד Pi.: = /yārē'/ "to hold in awe" (on Ma 1.6). < Cf. Men. 210. >

כבד Hit.: "to attach oneself and weigh down" (of a swarm of innumerable locusts) (on Na 3.15).

כבש Qal: + obj. /'āwōn/, opp. Ps 65.4 /divrē 'āwōnōt gāvru menni/, and as a result to be freed from sbd's influence and control (on Mi 7.19).

כְּהָה: "cure, healing", cf. /wattiḥhenā 'ēnāw/, or acc. to some, "darkness" (on Na 3.19).

כֶּהֵן: entrusted with the teaching of the Law (on Hg 2.11); "he who serves", cf. Ex 28.41, 40.15 /ḡḥihānu li/ (on Ze 1.4).

כול Hi.: "to bear, put up with" (on Am 7.10).

כון Pol.: /kōnēn/, past; = /heḥin/ "to establish" (on Hb 2.12).

כֹּחַ: "the strength of will" to control one's anger, cf. Nu 14.17 (on Na 1.3); with ref. to tribute paid to foreign ruler (on Ho 7.9).

כחד Hi.: "to put to death" (on Za 11.8).

כחש Pi.: "not to recognise" (on Ho 9.2). 2. "to fail to produce" (on Hb 3.17). 3. "to mislead in order to prevent being identified" (on Za 13.4).

כַּחַשׁ: opp. /'ēmet/ "truth, truthfulness" (on Ho 12.1). < So Men., 212. >

כִּיּוֹן: known from Arb and Pers /kaywān/, "saturn" (on Am 5.26).

כִּיּוֹר = /kira/ "stove" (on Za 12.6). < So Men. 222. >

כלא Qal: + /min/, "to withhold" (on Hg 1.10).

כלה Qal: "to cease to exist by being deprived of descendants" (on Ma 3.6).

כָּלָה w. /'āsā/, "to destroy all at once, not in a piecemeal fashion" (on Na 1.8).

כְּלוּב: "basket" < so Men. 215 > (on Am 8.1).

כלכל Pi.: for formation, cf. 1Kg 7.26 etc. /yāḥil/, and Is 22.17 /mṭalṭelḥā/ vs. Jon 1.5 /wayyāṭilu/ (Ma 3.2).

כְּלִיָּה: the name of a city (on Am 6.2). < Cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 236. >

כְּמוֹ: a preposition which follows immediately may be deleted as in Ex 20.11, 31.17 /ki šēšet yāmim/, < which however is a different phenomenon > (on Za 10.7 /šāmaḥ libbām kmō yayin/).

Abnormally followed by a clause in the sense of "according as, in the manner that ..." < but similarly in Pr 23.7 > (on Za 10.8).

כֵּן: /lāḥēn/ = /'al kēn/ "therefore" (on Ho 13.3).

כְּנוּעָן: “merchants” as in Za 14.21 /lō’ yihye hnaʿāniy ʿōd/ (ad Ho 12.8 on ib. 12.9; Ze 1.11). <So Men., 217.>

כְּנוּעִי: “merchant” (on Za 14.21).

קֶנֶף: fig. of the sun’s rays (on Ma 3.20).

כסה Pi.: “to conceal” (on Ma 2.16); “his body” as obj. understood (on Jn 3.6).

כסף Ni.: ptc. “loved, dear”, cf. Ps 84.3 /niḥsfā wgam kältā nafši/ (on Ze 2.1). <So Men. 219, and cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 245.>

כֶּסֶף: given as gift or tribute (on Ze 1.11).

כעס Hi.: God as object understood (on Ho 12.15).

קָפִיס: “the hardest part of wooden beam” (on Hb 2.11). <Cf. Saadia, *Sabʿin*, s.v.>

כֶּפֶר: the king of animals (on Za 11.3).

כָּפַף Ni.: “to prostrate oneself” like /hištaḥāwā/ of a posture taken by one who brings offerings (on Mi 6.6). <Sim. Men. 220.>

כַּפְתּוֹר: “apple-shaped capital of a temple door” (on Am 9.1); the strongest and hardest part of a door (on Ze 2.14).

כָּרַם: /nātatti lāh ʿet krāmehā/, opp. to Ho 2.14 /ḥāšimmōti gafnāh/ (on Ho 2.17).

כרת Qal: “to annihilate” so that there will be no survivor (on Ob 9).

Hi.: “to wipe out of existence” (on Za 9.10).

Ni.: = /kala/ “to be destroyed” (on Za 13.8).

כשל Qal: resulting in the need to be helped up to one’s feet (on Ho 14.2,4).

כתר Hi.: “to surround, encircle”, cf. /keter/ “crown”, which is round (on Hb 1.4).

כתת: /yukkattu/ from a geminate root (on Mi 1.7).

Pi.: = /karat/ “to break” <so Men. 225> (on Za 11.6 ed. Venice).

-ל: “in the cause of” as in /gdōlā lēʾlōhim/ “godly, god-fearing” (on Jn 3.3 ad ib. 1.2). **b**. “on account of”, cf. Gn 20.13 /ʾimri li/ (on Mi 1.12 /lṭōv/; on Hb 3.16 /lqōl-/). **c**. “for the sake of, for the good of” as in Gn 20.13 /ʾimri li ʾāḥi huʾ/ (on Za 12.5). **d**. marker of the direct object as in 2Sm 3.30 /hargu lʾavnēr/ (on Ho 1.6). **e**. /lmimē/, added <pleonastically> as in 1Ch 3.2 /haššliši lʾavšālōm ben maʿāḥā/ (on Ma 3.7); (on Hg 2.18 /lmin/). **f**. /lʿēt ʿerev/ “towards the evening” (on Za 14.7).

לאה Hi.: “to ask sbd to perform a tiring task” (on Mi 6.3). <Cf. Men. 227.>

לב: capable of thinking (on Ho 7.6).

לבט Ni.: in Arabic, “to be baffled, not knowing what to do” as in Pr 10.8,10 /we’ēwil šfātayim yillāvēt/ (on Ho 4.14).

לבן Hi.: intr. like /hēqīš/ (on Jl 1.7).

לְדָה: a nominal form like /dē’ā/ (on Ho 9.11).

להט Pi.: cf. Gn 3.24 /w’ēt lahaṭ haḥerev/ (on Ma 3.19).

לון Qal: /laane/, abnormal f. form (on Za 5.4).

לָחֹם: “flesh”, cf. Arb. </lahm/>. Likewise Job 20.23 /wyamṭēr ālēmō bilhumō/ (on Ze 1.17). <So Men. 231.>

לחך Pi.: + /āfār/ in order to prostrate oneself before sbd (on Mi 7.17).

לכד Qal: = /laqaḥ/ “to take, capture” (on Hb 1.10).

למד Pi.: “to educate, teach” (on Ho 10.11).

לְמַצֵּן = /ba’ābur/ “in order that” (on Ho 8.4).

לעה Qal: “to swallow” <so Men., 232, and Saadia, *Egron*, p. 274>, related to /b-l-ē/, and cf. Pr 20.25 /yāla’ qōdeš/ (on Ob 16).

לִפְנֵי: “in front, leading” (on Mi 2.13); = /ṭerem/ “before (of time)” (on Za 8.10).

לִצֵּץ Qal: /lōṣṣim/ is not of a hollow root /lyṣ/, which would display /mlōṣṣim/; thus Ps 68.26 /tōfēfōt/ and Na 2.8 /mtōffōt/ represent two distinct roots (?) (on Ho 7.5).

לקח Qal: “<to take> by force, forcibly” (on Am 7.15); cf. 2Sm 22.17 /yišlah mimmarōm yiqqāḥēni/ (on Hg 2.23). 2. “to learn”, cf. Pr 4.2 /leqaḥ ṭōv/ (on Mi 1.11).

+ /lēv/ as obj. “to make lose one’s reason, power of understanding” (on Ho 4.11).

+ /zrō’ōt/ like a physician offering a helping hand (on Ho 11.3).

לִקְשׁ: “vegetation that grows following the spring rain” (on Am 7.1). <Cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 277.>

לִתֵּךְ: some kind of food (on Ho 3.2).

מאן Pi.: = /lō’ āva/ “to refuse” (on Za 7.11).

מְבוֹקָה: w. /buqā/, schema etymologicum similar to Pr 8.13 /gē’ā wgā’ōn/ and Jer 16.19 /’uzzi umā’uzzi/ (on Na 2.11).

מִבְּט: “looking to (for help)” (on Za 9.5).

מְנוּרָה: “place for storing grain”, cf. Jl 1.17 /nehersu mammgurōt/ (on Hg 2.19). <Cf. Men. 23, 112, and Saadia, *Sab’im*, s.v.>

מִנְגַּח: hapax, “opposite, facing”, cf. Job 39.24 /ygamme’ āreš/ (on Hb 1.9).

מן Pi.: synonymous with /nātan/ “to give”, and as in Gn 14.20 /’āšer

- miggēn šārehā byādehā/ and Pr 4.9 /ʿāteret tifʿeret tmaggnekkā/ < /tittēn > in which latter case the suffix is datival as in Jos 15.19 and Jdg 1.15 /ki ʿereš hannegev netattāni/(on Ho 11.8). < Men., 237: “to hand over”. >
- מָגֵן: applied to king as in Ps 89.19 /lyhwh māginnēnu/(on Ho 4.18).
- מַגֵּפָה: affecting flesh and eyes (on Za 14.15).
- מְגִרְפָּה: “clod of soil” or variant of /ʿegrōf/ with secondary Alef (on Jl 1.17).
- מִדְבָּר: unpopulated area (on Ho 2.5, 9.10).
- מִדָּר Qal: /lāmōd/ from a geminate root like /lāḥōg/, /lārōs/, and /lāvōz/ (on Za 2.6).
- Pol.: “to measure” (on Hb 3.6).
- מָה: idiom. /ma li ... l-/ “I have no need of ...” (on Ho 14.9).
- מָהָר Ni.: “to be thoughtlessly rash”, cf. Is 32.4 /ulvav nimhārim/ (on Hb 1.6).
- מוֹג Qal: the opp. of being dry and in non-liquid form (on Am 9.5).
- Hithpol.: “with milk” understood (on Am 9.13).
- מוֹסֵר: “one who reproaches, disciplines” (on Ho 5.2, = Ra).
- מוֹעֵד: “meeting place (for festivals)”, cf. Ps 74.8 /šārfu kol mōʿādē ʿēl bāʾāreš/ (on Ze 3.18).
- מוֹץ: “fine chaff” (on Ho 13.3); blown about by wind (on Ze 2.2). < So Men., 244. >
- [מוֹצָקָת]: “that through which oil is poured” (on Za 4.2).
- מִוֵּר Hi.: “to exchange” (on Ho 4.7); w. ref. to conversion to a heathen religion (on Mi 2.4).
- מוֹרֶה: syn. with Dt 11.14 /yōre/, not “teacher” (so Jepheth, < but not in the extant Arabic version of his comm. >), and for collocation with /šdāqā/, cf. Ma 3.20 /šemeš šdāqā umarpē biḥnāfehā/ (on Jl 2.23a). < Cf. Men., 13.20, 163.24. >
- מוֹשׁ Qal: both transitive and intransitive (as in Nu 14.44 /lōʾ māšu miqqerev hammaḥāne/) like /šāv/ < as in Na 2.3 /šāv yhwh ʿet gʾōn yaʿāqōv/ > (on Za 3.9).
- Hi.: tr., “oneself” as obj. understood (on Na 3.1).
- מוֹת Qal: = /ʾavad/ “to perish” (on Am 9.10).
- מִזֹּר: “a wound which requires pressing the puss out” (on Ho 5.13a; Ob 7). < Men., 159: “disease” >
- מִזְמָרָה: an instrument for pruning branches (on Jl 4.10).
- מִזְרָק: “a place where blood is spilt” (on Za 9.15). b. vessel for throwing sacrificial blood (on Za 14.20). < So Men. 163. >; /kesef/ or /zāhāv/ understood (on Am 6.6).

[מְחַלְצָה]: < “garment” that is taken off”, cf. 2Sm 2.21 /ʔet ḥālišātō/ = /ḥālifātō/ “change of clothes” (on Za 3.4). < Cf. Men. 177. >

מִטָּה: epicene; used for corrective action (on Mi 6.9). **b.** “arrow”, cf. Hb 3.11 /braq ḥāniteḥā/ (on Hb 3.9).

מִי: /mi yōdēaʕ/ = /ʔulay/ “perhaps” (on Jl 2.14).

מִים: not = /tirōš/, but literally as in 1Kg 18.13, Dt 2.28, 9.18 (on Ho 2.7).

מִישׁוֹר: he who practises /mišōr/ acts in accordance with God’s commandments (on Ma 2.6).

מִכְלָה: as in Ps 50.9 /mimmihl’ōteḥā/ (on Hb 3.17).

מִכְרָה: cf. Ex 21.33 /ki yiḥre ʾiš bōr/, and Jepheth quotes Ze 2.6 /krōt rōʾim/ and Gn 26.25 /wayyihru šām ʿavdē yiṣḥāq/ (on Ze 2.9).

מְלֵא: “completely” (on Na 1.10).

מְלָאךָ: from a quadriliteral root or the Mem is prefix, and /mlāʕā/ is a derivative of /malʾaḥ/; “messenger” (on Hg 1.13, 14). < So Men. 241. > = /šāliaḥ/ “messenger” (on Za 2.7); /malʾaḥ yhwḥ/, God’s messenger, who stands between Him and Israel (on Ma 2.7).

מְלֵאכָה: derived from מְלָאךָ (on Hg 1.14).

מְלֵאכּוֹת: “mission” (on Hg 1.13).

מְלִבְנֵי: “a place where bricks are manufactured” (on Na 3.14).

מִלְחָה: “ship’s officer” as in Ez 27.27 /mallāḥayih ḡōvlāyih/ (on Jn 1.5).

מִלְחָמָה: /klē/ is understood as in 2Sm 19.29, 1Kg 2.7 /bʾōhlē šulḥāneḥā/ for /ʾōhlē leḥem šulḥāneḥā/ and 1Sm 16.20 /ḥāmōr leḥem/ with /nōšēʕ/ understood (on Ho 2.20 /qešet ḡerev umilhāmā/).

[מְמִוְרָה]: “store-house”, cf. Ho 7.14 /ʿal dāgān wtirōš yitgōrāru/; the repeated secondary Mem is unique (on Jl 1.17).

מְמִוֵּר: “bastard”, metaphorically for the lowly and despised, not the name of a nation (so R. Judah Ibn Balam) (on Za 9.6).

מְמִשְׁק: “a place from which /ḥārul/ q.v.) cannot be removed”, cf. Gn 15.2 /ben mešeq bēti/, “a son who would not move from the house” (on Ze 2.9).

מִן: = /baʿāvur/ “because of” (on Ob 10).

מִנָּה Pi.: “to call on sbd to do sth” (on Jn 2.1). < Cf. Saadia, *Egdon*, p. 300. >

מִנוֹס: = /bāraḥ/ “escape” (on Am 2.14).

מְמִנִּי: w. inexplicable double Nun, “the crowned ones” (on Na 3.17).

מִסְכְּנָת: “castle” (on Mi 7.17).

מִסּוּכָה: same as /mśuhā/ (on Mi 7.4).

מִסְתָּר: /bammistār/ = / bassēter/ “secretly, away from others” (on Hb 3.14).

מִגְדָּל: cf. Ps 61.4 /migdal ʿōz/ (on Na 1.7); cf. Ps 29.11 /yhwh ʿōz lʿammō yittēn/ (on Jl 4.16).

מְעוֹן: = /mʿona/ “dwelling-place” (on Ze 3.7).

מְעוֹנָה: = /sōveh/ “lair, thicket” (on Am 3.4).

מְעוֹר: = /qalon/ “shame, disgrace”, cf. 1Kg 7.36 /kmaʿar ʾiš/ (on Hb 2.15). < Cf. Men. 290 “exposure” and Saadia, *Egron*, p. 306. >

מַעַט: “easy, requiring no great effort” or “of small number” (on Hg 2.6).

מַעֲלָה: “heavenly sphere (of wind, < cold >, and fire)” (on Am 9.6).
< See Simon ad loc. >

מַעֲלָה: /wāmāʿlā/ “and the following day”, cf. Ex 30.14 + /mibben ʿesrim šānā wāmāʿlā/ (on Hg 2.15).

מַעֲלָל: = /maʿāse/ “deed” (on Ho 5.4, Mi 2.7); “evil deed” (on Mi 7.13).

מַעַר: “nakedness, pudenda”, cf. 1Kg 7.36 /kmaʿar ʾiš/; on the absence of the last radical, see Ct 2.14 /marʿeh/ (on Na 3.5). < So also Saadia, *Egron*, p. 306. >

מַעֲשֵׂה: /maʿāšē zayit/ “olive oil” (on Hb 3.17); /maʿāšē yādēnu/, cf. Ho 13.2 /maʿāšē ḥārāšim/ (on Ho 14.4).

מַפָּל: “what falls through a sieve” (on Am 8.6).

מִצָּה: Hi.: cf. Lv 9.12,18 /wayyamšiʿu/ (on Za 11.6).

מִצְלָה: “bell” hung on a horse’s neck, cf. 1Sm 3.11 /tšillenā/ (on Za 14.20).

מִצְלָה: difficult; unlikely a place name (*pace* Jepheth), but acc. to R. Moshe Hakohen, “pool of water” (on Za 1.8).

מִרְוֶה: “joyous noise accompanied by songs” as in Jer 16.5 /ʾal tāvōʾ bēt marzēah/ (on Am 6.7). < Cf. Men.: “drinking house”. >

מְרִיא: larger than, and similar to, bull; acc. to Saadia < *Egron* >, = Arb. /jāmūs/ “buffalo” (on Am 5.22).

מִרְמָה: opp. /ʾēmet/ “truth, truthfulness” (on Ho 12.1).

מִשְׁאָת: “burden” (on Ze 3.18).

מִשְׁוֹכָה: in /mšuvāti/ the Yod does not indicate the subject any more than it does in Is 56.7 /wšimmaḥtim bvēt tfillāti/ and Ps 5.8 /byirʾātehā/ and the noun is alw. *in sensu malo* in the O.T., for it is a mental disease (on Ho 11.7 and 14.5).

מִשְׁכִּים: not a verb < “to go *quickly*” >, but a noun syn. with /šaḥar/ “dawn”, and so likewise in Jer 5.8 /maškim hāyu/ (on Ho 6.4 /kaṭṭal maškim hōlēḥ/, = R. Jonah).

משל: “to reign” (on Za 9.10); + /b/, “to act as protector over” (on Jl 2.17).

משמרת: “office of night watchman” (on Hb 2.1).

משנה: “additional” (on Za 9.12).

משפט: /šedeq/ “righteousness”, cf. Ps 37.6 (on Ho 6.5); for the figure of sweet justice turning bitter, cf. Am 5.7 /hahōlḥim llaʿănā mišpāt/ (on Ho 10.4); opp. formal sacrifices and cultic songs (on Am 5.24).

משק: “attentive” (on Gn 15.2 ad Am 3.12).

SAMARITAN PROVERBS

BY

SYLVIA POWELS

Proverbs are spread everywhere in Samaritan literature, but still the Samaritan treasure of proverbs does not seem to be very large. A great number of them are translations from familiar Arabic sayings into the Samaritan dialect, and are included in the standard compilations of Arabic proverbs. It is not surprising, however, that after living for more than one thousand years in an Arabic neighbourhood, the Samaritans have adopted proverbs as well. Like many Arabic sayings, every proverb consists of two hemistichs with the same end-rhyme. Still on the other hand it might be possible that the parallels, at least partly, are mere coincidences. This is certainly not true for Hebrew wisdom literature, especially the Book of Sirach and the biblical Book of Proverbs, because these books are known to the Samaritans.

It seems that there is only one collection of a larger number of proverbs found in Samaritan Mss. It is contained in '*Ms. Sam. 23*' (Zuhair Shunnar, *Katalog samaritanischer Handschriften I*, Berlin 1974, no. 294), collection of the Institut für Semitistik und Arabistik at the Free University, Berlin. This Ms. is a comprehensive compilation of treatises, poems, and liturgical pieces (935 pages written in Samaritan minuscule script, partially accompanied by an Arabic translation), written by the Samaritan author Abraham ben Mārḥīb ha-Šifrī (Ibrāhīm b. Farağ Šadaqa aš-Šabāhī). From the colophon on p. 42 it is obvious that the first part of the manuscript, copied by Abu l-Ḥasan (Ab Ḥasda) b. Ya'qūb al-Kāhin, was completed on the 4th *muḥarram* 1366 H., corresponding to the 28th of November 1946 CE. The Ms. was completed by Rādī b. Amīn b. Šadaqa.

The Ms. is preceded by a table of contents, which is not complete and not foliated.

The collection of proverbs is found on pp. 43-50, comprising one hundred and thirteen proverbs written in the typical Samaritan Hebrew-Aramaic mixed language. The text is partly vocalized, and sometimes passages or words are accompanied by an Arabic translation.

Another Ms. containing proverbs is no. 2051 of the collection of Dr. Moses Gaster, at present at the John Rylands University Library, Manchester (ROBERTSON, vol. II, no. 321). It is a bi-lingual Ms. with Samaritan and Arabic in parallel columns and written in Samaritan majuscule. The number of proverbs is one hundred and eleven. This Ms. unfortunately has suffered from immersion in water with the result that the text is severely damaged and can only be traced with difficulty. The writer and translator is the above-mentioned Ab-Hasda b. Ya'qūb. It has been written in 3577 E (Samaritan Entry Era), which corresponds to 1938 CE, and published by Theodor H. Gaster in "*Studies and Essays in Honour of Abraham A. Neumann*", ed. by M. Ben-Horin, B. D. Weinryb, and S. Zeitlin, Leiden 1962, pp. 228-42.

On comparing these two collections of proverbs, it can be said that they are identical — not considering the variants and the assignment of numbers (Robertson in his description speaks of 111 proverbs; Gaster lists 102) and the last part where in both Mss. different proverbs are listed (in Ms. Sam 23 from no. 103 and in G. 2051 from no. 99 onwards).

Th. Gaster's edition is accompanied by some occasional notes and references to other, also extra-Samaritan sources. It does not offer, however, an accurate translation and philological commentary. This makes the understanding of the proverbs difficult for those who are not familiar with the Samaritan idiom. They contain words and grammatical forms which are not found in Samaritan dictionaries and word-lists as well as unusual syntactic constructions due to their poetic structure. Even after an intensive comparative study a number of proverbs remain obscure.

In this situation I was very thankful to the late Raşōn Şadaqa for offering me at our meeting on the occasion of the 1st International Congress of the *Société d'Études Samaritaines* in Tel Aviv (10th-14th April, 1988) a hand-written copy of 51 proverbs from the above collection accompanied by an Arabic translation, which has been a great help in clarifying obscure words and constructions.

For the 51 proverbs I have used Ms. Sam 23 as a basic Ms. (the variants of G. 2051 and R. Şadaqa's version are quoted below). The Arabic translation is the one in R. Şadaqa's copy. Arabic equivalences from the Arabic collections of proverbs are given, if found; references to other non-Samaritan sources are quoted as well.

1. לא תאמר לגו¹ גו¹: יתעדף² גו¹:

لا تقل للعائب عائب يزداد عيبه

¹) G. 2051: גו; ²) G. 2051: יתעדף.

Sam.: "Don't call the imperfection imperfection; imperfection will be increased".

Ar.: "Don't call the imperfect imperfect; his imperfection will be increased".

גו: Sam. גו is rendered by Abs as عيب "fault, defect, blemish, imperfection, shame, disgrace" etc. Cp. JAram. m. גו (גו) "disgrace, shame, blame, obscenity" (JAST. I, 256); cp. as well Syr. Pa. (ܡܢܗ) "to reprimand" and derived nouns ܡܢܗܐ "reprimand" and ܡܢܗܐ "insult" (LS. 123).

גו is translated by R. Šadaqa in the first hemistich as "imperfect" (the actor), in the second as "imperfection". This means that, according to his opinion, the form גו represents at the same time the actor (عائب) and the abstract noun (عيب).

יתעדף: Hit. of this root is not used in Hb; it is rendered by ABS. as ازداد VIII "be increased", which fits well into the context.

2. דחל מן לשנך: רב מן¹ דחלתך מן סנך²:

خف من لسانك اكثر من خوفك من عدوك

¹) R.Š.: om.; ²) R.Š.: סנך.

"Fear your tongue more than your enemy (lit.: *more than your fear from ...*)".

3. האיש דמדע כשיר¹: טב מן² העשיר:

R.Š.: من كان علمه طيب احسن من الغنى

FRE. 2287: غنى النفس احسن من غنى المال

מן האיש: G. 2051; ²) R.Š.: כשיר.

"The man with a good learning is better than the rich man".

כשיר: cp. Hb. קָשֶׁר "fit, proper, right" etc.

4. מן יתהלך בדרך המלא¹: עזרו בשתי החצרים אלה:

من سار في طريق الكمال اعانه الله في الدارين

1) R.Š.: המלאה.

Sam.: "He who follows the perfect way will be helped in these two yards".

Ar.: "God will help the one who follows the way of perfection, in this world and in the world to come".

מלא (cp. no. 38); R.Š. המלאה. The question is whether מלא could be considered as a noun as well, like in the Ar. translation (طريق الكمال); then מלא would mean "perfection". ABS, however, renders: מלא – كامل.

החצרים: Hb. חצר "yard, court" makes no sense here. It is a loan translation from Ar. الداران "this world and the world to come" and must be taken in the figurative sense.

5. לא תלכד תרח דלית¹⁾ תחכמו: ילא יתך סתמו:

لا تفتح بابًا لا تعرفه يعجزك غلقه

1) G. 2051: דלא.

"Don't open a door you do not know: its closing will make you tired (Ar.: ... *will weaken you*)".

תלכד: The Hb. root לכד usually means "to capture, take, seize, conquer" etc.; in our context, however, it means "to open". ABS gives three meanings: اخذ، خطف، فتح. לכד. Ar. فتح means both "to open" and "to conquer". Obviously, the Sam. לכד is a calque from Arabic.

תרח: (= Aram. תרע "door, gate"); cp. GSA 13:5, 7; 106:34; 243:7.

ילא: ABS renders יעجز like R.Š. in his Ar. translation; cp. Ar. II عجز "to weaken". Therefore ילא is impf. of Hb./Aram. לאי/לאה "to labour (in vain), to be tired".

סתמו: (= verbal noun + suff. "its closing").

6. מן יאמר לך אני במאהבותך¹⁾ מסתמך: תחג

לא תדעו²⁾ אלא בעת לו תמך:

R.Š.: من يقول لك انا متمسك بمحبتك لا تعرفه الا عندما تحتاجه

FRE. 1984: لا يُعرف الأخُ الاَّ عِنْدَ الْحَاجَةِ إِلَيْهِ

1) G. 2051: במאהבתך; 2) R.Š.: תדהו.

"Him, who tells you: I am relying on your love, you will know only the moment you need him".

תִּמְךָ (= act.pt.pe.). ABS renders مسك - سند, תִּמְךָ - cp. Hb. תִּמְךָ
 “to support, assist, maintain, help”. In our context תִּמְךָ corresponds
 with Ar. سند “to lean upon”.

7. הדר פני מן⁽¹⁾ יתעיצך⁽²⁾: בכל כוחך וחרוצך:

احترم من يهديك لعمل الخير بكل قواك وجهدك

1) G. 2051/R.S.: מן לשוב; 2) G. 2051/R.S.: יעיצך.

“Honour the one who gives you good advice (Ar.: *who shows you the way to good deeds*) with all you strength and assiduity!”.

יִתְעִיצְךָ (root עוץ/יעץ); G. and R.S. יעיצך (af.impf. + suff.) (cp. n. 2). ABS renders يرشد يشور - יעיצך; cp. Ar. IV اشار “to advise sb.”; IV ارشد “to lead the right way, guide well”.

חרוץ cp. Hb. חרוץ (root II חרץ) “diligent, assiduous”. חרוץ is generally an adj.; ABS renders مقطوع مجروح, مجتهد. In our proverb, however, it is used as a noun.

8. המות בארחה העז הגדל: טב מן האסו⁽¹⁾ בשביל הדל:

الموت بسبيل العز الكبير احسن من الشفاء للفقير

1) G. 2051: תאספו.

“Death by great honor is better than healing for the poor”.

בִּאֲרַח (= Ar. بسيل “by means of, through, by”).

אסו noun f., cs. אסות “curing, healing” (JAST. I,93). It appears in Mimar Marqa M 18:2, TM 73:27; cp. also GSA 249:5; 263:10.

9. מה תעל קמס⁽¹⁾ ואנשא⁽²⁾:

אלא נפל על הארץ יבשה⁽³⁾:

Ms. Sam. 23: ما طار طيور وارفع الا سقط على الارض

R.S.: ما طار وارفع الا كما طار وقع

1) R.S.: קמץ; 2) G. 2051: ותנשא; R.S.: והנשא; 3) G. 2051: ארץ יבשה; R.S.: ארץ היבשה.

Sam.: “Birds fly and are exalted only to fall back to the ground”.

Ar. (R.S.): “Birds are not flying and going up, for just as they fly they fall”.

מה Sam. מה here corresponds to the Ar. negative particle ما.

קמס (= קמץ); this word renders עוף in the Sam. Targum; cp. Gen. 1:20, 21, 26, etc.

ראנשא: cp. the variants given in n. 2. In our context the best variant would be G. 2051: ותנשא (Hb. נִתְנָשָׂא nif.) “are exalted, carried from one place to another”.

10. הנפש תאט⁽¹⁾ לכמוה: אשקאלה
והכסמות⁽²⁾ תפל⁽³⁾ על מרואה⁽⁴⁾:

R.Š.: النفس تميل لشبيهها والطيور على اشكالها
FRE. 2688: كل شيء يميل الى شكله

1) G. 2051: אאט; R.Š.: תהלט; 2) R.Š.: והקמצים; 3) R.Š.: יפלו; 4) G. 2051/R.Š.: מראוה.

“The soul is inclined to the resembling one, and the birds to the similar kind”.

תאט: this form and the variants תהלט/אאט are derived from the root נטה “to be inclined”. The confusion of the laryngals is one of the most typical phenomena of Sam. orthography (cp. GSA 9ff.). This form is rendered by ABS, عَرَّجَ، مَيَّلَ، آت.

והכסמות: cp. R.Š. והקמצים (n. 2); עוף = קמץ (cp. no. 9).

מרואה: cp. G. 2051/R.Š.: מראוה (n. 4); מראו corresponds to Hb. מִרְאָה “sight, appearance”.

11. המים אשר אינו עצור:

לו טטף טטפה טטפה⁽¹⁾ ינקר הצור:

R.Š.: المياه التي لا ينحصر اذا نقت نقطة ينقر الصخر

FRE. 2487: الْقَطْرَةُ بِدَوَامِهَا يَنْقُرُ الصَّخْرَ

1) ditt. (only Ms. Sam. 23).

“If the water, which is not restrained, drips constantly, the rock will be hollowed out”.

לו: corresponds to Hb. לו; Ar. لَوَّ.

טטף: ABS renders نقت – טטף “to drip”; noun f. טטפה “drop”; the form corresponds to Hb. טָפַף, נָטַף “to drip”; נָטַף “drop”.

12. כל כלום יתאבד: אלא אלה וטוב העבד⁽¹⁾:

R.Š.: كل شيء يفنى الا الله والعمل الطيب

‘ABBŪD 2258: الصديق والجميل ما يموتوا

1) G. 2051/R.Š.: העובד.

“Everything perishes save God and the good deed”.

כלום “everything”; כלום “something, anything” is generally used in a negative sentence. This also applies to Sam. Aramaic; cp. GSA 138:3.

עובדא, עובדא (n. 1); cp. also Aram. עובדא, עובדא, cp. G. 2051/R.Ş.: העובד “deed, work” (JAST. II, 1046), corresponding to Hb. מעשה.

13. מן יאהב לרעהו כמהו⁽¹⁾: לא יוכל אחד יכמאו⁽²⁾:
من احب لصاحبه مثله لا يقدر احد على مخاصمته

1) G. 2051: כמאו; 2) G. 2051: ריבהו, R.Ş.: יכמאו.

“Nobody can quarrel with one who loves his neighbour like himself”.

יכמאו: This form is obscure. Taking into consideration the variant מכאו (G. 2051), it becomes obvious that the root must be Aram. מוכ (< מוכ) “to decline, bend”; cp. JAST. II, 782. The conjectured meaning of מכא in our context is “to humiliate”; cp. Aram. מכך “to lower, level, humiliate”; pa. מכך (Syr. خجى) with the same meaning (JAST. II, 783). R.Ş. has replaced this obviously older form by יריבהו (< ריב “to quarrel, strife, fight”). Cp. however, כמע (= כמה), “to weaken”, e.g. ST וכמעי עיניו, “and his eyes weakened”, Gen 27,1. Cp. also LS 331.

14. מן ישמר מבטא שפתו: יתגלגל⁽¹⁾ בין עמיתו⁽²⁾

من حافظ على منطق لسانه احترامه ابناء جلدته

1) G. 2051: אתגלגל; 2) R.Ş.: עדתו.

“Who watches his manner of speaking, will be praised among his community”.

יתגלגל: Sam. “to praise”; itpe. “to be praised”; cp. Marqa 8:9 [= B.H., III/2, 183:9] גלגו “they praised”.

עמיתו: ABS renders جاعتك، امئك. The Sam. meaning of עמית is “community” while in Hb. it denotes “friend, companion” etc. R.Ş. has replaced it by the more common word עדה “community, congregation”.

15. מן יתקרב לבן⁽¹⁾ אקרו⁽²⁾:

ילחט⁽³⁾ הנגף מעל⁽⁴⁾ מישרו:

من اخذ من غير جنسه دق البين فلسه

1) G. 2051: לבלל, R.Ş.: לזולת; 2) R.Ş.: עקרו; 3) R.Ş.: ילהט; 4) 2051/R.Ş.: מדל.

“The money of the one who marries out (of?) his descent will be burned by the plague”.

The above proverb is a very good example for the fact that the copyists did not understand what they were writing because in the above case we have three different versions none of which is clear. The second half of the proverb is glossed by Ab Ḥasda: **בטעם ימחי** (Gaster, Sam. Prov., p. 231, n. 7). This explanation proves that the proverb is a genuine Samaritan one because of the prohibition of marriage outside the clan.

יחקרב: Hb. **התקרב** “to approach (for marriage)”.

לבלי: G. 2051 (n. 1) has **לבלל** which should be emended into **לבלי** (cp. R.Š.: **לזולת**).

אקרו = **אקר** = “root;” cp. GSA 398.

ילחט: corresponds to **ילהט** (cp. R.Š., n. 3). Gaster conjectures the root **לחט/לבט/לעט** “to curse” (Sam. Prov. 231, n. 6), but this would make no sense in our context.

מדל: *recte* **מדל**, cp. G. 2051/R.Š., n. 4. **מדל** *mādal*/מדה *mādāle* “property” < **מה דלה**, contracted **מדלה** “what belongs to him” (cp. GSA 136:14f.).

מישר: ABS renders **مستقيم** – **מישר**, which does not fit the context. Perhaps it should be taken in the sense of the Hb. adv. **במישרים** “directly”.

16. מן יתפני לבצע עלמה: לא ישקח לנשמה¹⁾:

من اتجه لطمع الدنيا لا يجد راحة

1) G. 2051/R.Š.: **נשמה**.

“Who turns to the worldly desires will not find rest”.

לנשמה: The determined object is here introduced by the prep. **ל**, which is common in Aramaic. This is omitted in the other two versions.

Like in nos. 29 and 30, **נשמה** “soul” is rendered in Ar. as **راحة** “rest, repose”. Cp. the liturgical verse **מנשמין מן כל דוש**, “they rest from any fatigue” (on Saturday), LOT III/b, p. 266.

17. מן יבקש הרעות: לא ימצא¹⁾ בטח בכל הפאות:

من طلب السوء لا يجد راحة في اية جهة

1) G. 2051: **ל**.

“The one who seeks the evil will not find security (Ar.: *rest*) in any place”.

הפאות: ABS renders الجہات – הפאות; cp. Hb. פֶּאֶה “edge, corner”.

18. מִן יִקַּח הַשָּׁחַד: אִיקָרִי¹ יִכְחַד:

من اخذ رشوة يخسر احترامه

1) G. 2051/R.S.: אִיקָרִי.

“Who takes the bribe will lose his honour (lit.: *his honour will be destroyed* [nif.])”.

אִיקָרִי: from the root יִקַּר; cp. GSA 249:32: אִיקָר *īqar* “honour”; det. אִיקָרָה *īqāra*.

19. הַמַּהֲרָה מִתְנַעֲלָה: הַקְלָמוֹס¹ לְשׁוֹן הַיָּד:

العجلة مذمومة والقلم لسان اليد

1) R.S.: וְהַקְלָמוֹס; 2) G. 2051: הַיָּד וּפְעֵלָה.

“Haste is detestable (Ar.: *blameworthy*); the pen is the language of the hand”.

הַמַּהֲרָה: The form corresponds to Hb. מְהִירָה “haste, speed”.

הַקְלָמוֹס: < Gr. κάλαμος “halm, reed”; cp. Ar. قلم “reed pen, pen”.

20. לֹא תִשֶּׂים בְּיָדְךָ קוּטְמָה: קִדְשָׁ¹ תִּבְלַע דִּקְדָּשָׁה²:

R.S.: لا تضع لقمة بيدك قبلما تبلع التي قبلها

FRE. 2028: قَبْلَ مَا يَتَعَشَّى أَتَغْدَا فِيهِ

1) G. 2051/R.S.: קִדְשָׁ; 2) G. 2051/R.S.: דִּקְדָּמָה.

“Don’t take a morsel in your hand before you swallowed what was before”.

קוּטְמָה: < Peal “to cut, chop, lop”; cp. Syr. مَهْلَخَة “sectio, segmentum” (LS 659). The second hemistich should be emended to: קִדְשָׁ תִּבְלַע דִּקְדָּמָה (cp. G. 2051 and R.S., n. 1, 2).

21. מִן סִתָּם אֲזַנִּי מִן צַעֲקוֹת דִּיאֲנָקוּ¹:

כֵּן וְהוּא² לֹא יִשְׁתַּמֵּעַ³ צַעֲקוֹ:

R.S.: من سد آذانه من صراخ المشتكين هو كذلك لا يُسمع صراخه

FRE. 1319: مَنْ يَسُدُّ أُذُنَيْهِ عَنْ صُرَاخِ الْمُسْكِينِ فَهُوَ يَصْرَحُ وَلَا يُسْمَعُ لَهُ

1) R.S.: דִּיאֲנָקוּ; 2) R.S.: כֵּן; 3) G. 2051/R.S.: יִשְׁמַע.

“Who closes up his ears from the outcries of the groaning (Ar.: *the complainants*); his outcry will not be heard either”.

דיאנקו: R.Š. has דינאקו; cp. the Hb. roots נאק/אנק “to groan, cry, wail”.

22. דילמד האנשים¹ החסד ולא יעבדו:

הך² עויר³ בוצין מניר בידו:

יזרח בו לבלעדו⁴:

והוא לא יעמי⁵ מוקדו:

من علم الناس الخير ولم يعمله مثل الاعمي الحامل بيده قنديلاً
يضيء به على غيره وهو لا يرى نوره

על בלעדו: R.Š.: 4) עור: G. 2051/R.Š.: 3) הוא הך: G. 2051: 2) אנשים: G. 2051: 1) יעמה: R.Š.: 5)

“Who teaches the people love and doesn’t practise it is like a blind man with an illuminated lamp in his hand (Ar.: *like the blind carrying in his hand*...). It sheds light through him upon others but he *himself* doesn’t see its light”.

עויר: cp. JAram. עוירא, עויר “blind” (JAST. II, 1049).

בוצין: JAram. בוצינא, בוצין “candle, lamp, light” (JAST. I, 147); for the Sam. forms cp. GSA 261:16; 313:12.

מניר: af.pt. *māner* “illuminates” (Ex 34:35) < נהר “to give light, illuminate, understand” (GSA 196:22).

יעמי: “he sees” < ח/עמה “to see” (GSA 207:31).

23. אדרש¹ ההגר² קדם החצר: והרחוט קדם הדרך:

سل [= اسأل] عن الجار قبل الدار وعن الرفيق قبل الطريق

הגר: R.Š.: 2051; דרש: R.Š.: 1)

“Demand the neighbour (Sam.: *the stranger*) before *demanding* the yard and the companion before the way”.

This proverb is very common in Arabic, cp. ‘ABBŪD no. 3072/73:

فَتَشْ عَلَى الْجَارِ قَبْلَ الدَّارِ فَتَشْ عَلَى الرَّفِيقِ قَبْلَ الطَّرِيقِ; cp. also HAEF.

429/507; SOC. 106; GOIT. 536. It has obviously been adopted by the Samaritans. This is also proved by the word גר, which in Hb. means “stranger” and can only be explained as a translation from Ar. جار “neighbour”. The form ההגר is a scribal error and should be emended to הגר (cp. G. 2051/R.Š., n. 2).

רהט “to run?” < רהט “companion” מראף = רחוט: והרחוט

24. שנים לא ישבעו:

דרוש¹ (החכמו²) ודרוש³ עדפת מדלהו⁴):

R.Š.: اثنان لا يشبعان طالب العلم وطالب زيادة المال

SOC. 256: اثنان لا يشبعان طالب علم وطالب مال

cp. also HAEF. 100.

1) R.Š.: דרש; 2) 2051: חכמה, R.Š.: 'הח; 3) cp. n. 1; 4) G. 2051: מדלו.

“There are two whose appetite is never satisfied: the seeker of wisdom and the one who is eager to increase his property”.

דרוש: act.pt.pe. *dāroš*; cp. GSA 150:9, 27f.

עדפת: ABS renders زيادة – עֲדַפְתָּ; cp. Hb. עֲדָף “to be more than enough, redundant”.

מדלהו: cp. no. 15.

25. החל הקצף שגה רמה: ואחריתו נחמה¹

R.Š.: أول الغضب سهوة كبرى واخرته ندم

FRE. 138: أَوَّلُ الْغَضَبِ جُنُونٌ وَآخِرُهُ نَدَمٌ

1) G. 2051: רחמה.

“The beginning of anger is great unintentional sin, and its end is comfort (Ar.: *repentance*)”.

שגה: Hb. שִׁגְגָה “error, unintentional sin”; ABS renders جهالة “ignorance”, LOT II, p. 602: שגה – سهى – “to be inattentive”.

26. טוב הממלל דצדק בו אמורו¹ בלשנו:

ואתעויל² בו דשמעו באזנו:

R.Š.: احسن الكلام الذى قصد به قائله والفائدة به استمعه آذانه

FRE. 620: أَحْسَنُ الْكَلَامِ مَا صَدَقَ بِهِ قَائِلُهُ وَأَنْتَفَعَ بِهِ سَامِعُهُ

1) R.Š.: אמרו; 2) R.Š.: והתועיל; 3) G. 2051: דשמרו.

“It is better for the speaker to tell the truth (lit.: *better the speech the speaker of which is honest about it in his tongue*); and it becomes efficient for the listener (lit.: *the one who hears it with his ears*)”.

אמורו: act.pt.pe. with suff. “its speaker”.

התועיל: ittaf.pf. from the root יעל “to be of use”; cp. R.Š. התועיל (n. 2).

27. לא תסגי¹ מהללך² לבית מאהבך: פן יתעבך³:

R.Š.: لا تكثر ذهابك لبيت صديقك لئلا يكرهك
Prov. 25:17: פֶּן־יִשְׂכַּעַךְ וְשִׂנְאֶךָ

1) R.Š.: תסגה; 2) G. 2051: בהלכך, R.Š.: מהלכך; 3) G. 2051: יתאבדך.

“Don’t go to the house of your friend often (lit.: *don’t multiply your going*), lest he will detest you”.

מהלכך: It seems that the original version of the proverb has מהלכך “your going”, but the above version: מהללך “your praising” would also make sense.

28. למשלי הוי¹ מסתכל: נשמת פגרך במעט המיכל:

R.Š.: لمثلئ كن متأملاً راحة جسمك بقلة الاكل
(cp. also FRE. 2341; HAEF. 751).

1) R.Š.: הזה.

“Consider my example: the rest of your body lies in eating little”.

פגרך: נשמת cp. no. 16.

As can be seen from the above example, פגר has two meanings: “body” and “corpse”. This is confirmed by ABS, who renders: جثة, بدن – פגר; cp. also Syr. فحش “body, corpse”, but Hb. פֶּגֶר “corpse, carcass, cadaver”.

29. קח ממני מלים נהגות: נשמת הלב בחסר הדאגות:

خذ عني كلمات مجربة راحة القلب بعدم الهموم

“Take from me practical words; the rest of the heart lies in the lack of worries (i.e.: *the heart is at repose without worries*)”.

Nos. 28 and 29 are taken as one unit in Ms. G. 2051, but not in the other two versions. They in fact are a unit: not the imp. in the first hemistichs: קח! and הוי מסתכל! and the parallelism in the second hemistichs: נשמת הלב / נשמת פגרך.

30. אן הויית תחפץ נשמת הלשן:

תמעיס¹ מן הממלל אן² הוה חדש או ישן:

إذا رغبت راحة اللسان قلل من الكلام جديداً كان أم قديماً

1) G. 2051: אמעיס, R.Š.: המעיס; 2) R.Š.: הן.

“If the repose of the tongue is what you want, diminish your talking (*no matter*) if it is new or old”.

תמעִיט (= imp. af./hif.), corresponds to Hb. הִמְעִט (cp. n. 1). The impf. תמעִיט used instead of the imp. might be an influence from modern Hb. colloquial speech.

31. נצירות¹ האנוש: תוסיפו² קדוש:

إخلاص الإنسان تزيده قدوسة

1) R.Š.: נצירות; R.Š.: תוסיפו.

“To the devotion of a man you (*God*) add holiness”.

נצירות: “Piety, devotion, sincerity” < נצר “to preserve, guard”; cp. נצירה nom.det. “the sincere, upright” (GSA 81:28); with prep. ב(א)נצירו “with sincerity, uprightness” (ibid. 14:24f., 71:7, 101:32; Ben-Hayyim, Tarb. 4/1939, 340, n. 38).

קדוש: The adj. is probably used because of the rhyme although from the context the noun קדש is required. Cp. however טל קדושה (tal qiddūše), “the shadow of his holiness” (LOT III/b, p. 96) where קדוש is a nominal form.

32. רחם חברך: ירחמך מרך:

ارحم صديقك يرحمك ربك

“Have mercy with your friend, (*then*) your Lord will have mercy with you”.

33. מן לנפשו יקליץ¹: אינו לטוב יאעיץ²:

من يمدح نفسه ليسه بمرشد للحق

1) R.Š.: יקליץ; 2) R.Š.: יאעיץ.

“Who praises himself is not a good adviser (lit.: *does not advise well*; Ar.: *does not lead the way to the truth*)”.

יקליץ: root קלס; cp. Hb. קלם II “to praise, laud”; appears in the Sam. Targum Dt 32:43.

יאעיץ: pa.pf.; cp. Hb. pi. יעץ “to advise”.

34. הוי¹ בצעריך² ענו³ בין אנשה:

למען תהיה בוקנך⁴ מתנשא:

R.Š.: کن بصغرك متواضعا بين الناس حتى تكون رفيعا في كبرك
كُنْ فِي طُفُولِيَّتِكَ مُتَضَاعاً لَتَكُنْ فِي شَيْخُوختِكَ مُرْتَفِعاً
FRE. 2800

1) R.Š.: הוה; 2) G. 2051: לצעריך; 3) G. 2051: עני; 4) R.Š.: בוקנך.

“Be modest among people during your youth, so that you will be exalted in your old age”.

35. צפור ביד⁽¹⁾ הימנה: ולא⁽²⁾ עשרה⁽³⁾ על אילנה⁽⁴⁾:

R.Š.: عصفور في اليد اليمنى ولا عشرة على الشجرة

FRE. 2029: عصفور في الكف خير من كركي

1) G. 2051: בידך; 2) G. 2051: טוב מן; 3) R.Š.: עשר; 4) R.Š.: האילנה.

“A bird in the right hand and not ten on the tree (i.e.: ... is better than ten on the tree)”.

This proverb is an obvious loan from Arabic.

36. לא תעבד ברחוק⁽¹⁾ או קריבך⁽²⁾:

במה לא⁽³⁾ תתריח יעבדו בך:

لا تعامل قريب وغريب ما لا تريد ان يعملوا بك

1) G. 2051: ברחוקך; 2) G. 2051: קרובך; R.Š.: בקריבך; 3) R.Š.: דלה.

“Don’t treat the stranger or your relative in a way you don’t want them to treat you”.

“to wish, want, desire”; in Sam. רעה/רעי ittaf. impf. from the root רעה (Hb. רצה); cp. GSA 215:32,33.

37. אן⁽¹⁾ אסתוללו⁽²⁾ הסוררים: אשתמדו⁽³⁾ היקירים

R.Š.: اذا حلت الشياطين رحلت الملائكة

FRE. 2980: اذا ملك الأزدل هلك تلاً فضل

1) R.Š.: הן; 2) R.Š.: הסתוללו; 3) R.Š.: השתמדו.

Sam.: “If the rebellious maltreat, the honourable will be destroyed”.

Ar.: “If the devils are set free, the angels depart”.

סתולל (root סלל) מstolul derived from Ex 9:17 with the meaning “oppress, maltreat”; cp. LOT II, p. 539: متضبط – מדלס; סולל – סולל – ענא; ABS: מסתולל – מסيف.

סורר derived from Dt 21:18 “rebellious”; cp. ABS: زايغ – זאיג “deviating, false”.

Sam. יקר “weighty, honourable [man]”.

38. האנש בלא מלא: כמטעמים בלא מלא:

R.Š.: الرجل بلا كمال كالطعام بلا ملح

FRE. 2957: امرأة بلا حياء كطعام بلا ملح

“The man without perfection is like delicacies (Ar.: food) without salt”.

מלא: noun; cp. Hb. מְלֹא “fullness, capacity”.

39. התושב¹ בארץ גזרה:

טוב מן המושב את² אשה סוררה:

السكنة في ارض قافرة احسن من السكنة مع امرأة شريرة
cp. Prov. 21:19.

1) G. 2051: התשוב; 2) R.Š.: עם.

“Dwelling in a distant land is better than living with a disobedient wife”.

מושב = מושב “living, dwelling”.

ארע פרידה: ST: cp. Lv 16:22. בארץ גזרה

cp. no. 37.

40. אהב את יהוה בכל שדלך¹: כי הוא הנתן² לך:

احب الله بكل جهلك لانه هو العاطى لك

1) G. 2051: מדלך; 2) הנותן.

“Love God with all your effort, for he is the one who gives you”.

שדל in this context is a noun meaning “strain, effort, endeavour”. It is obviously derived from *pe.*, although the verb שדל is generally used in the derived conjugations *pi.*, *pu.*, and *hitp.* (Aram. *pa.*, *itpa.*). The corresponding noun in Hb. is הַשְׁתַּדְּלוּת < הַשְׁתַּדֵּל “to make an effort”. For the variant מדלך (n. 1) cp. no. 15.

41. כבד אביך ואמך¹ ומיסרך²: יהיה יהוה מן עורך:

احترم اباك وامك ومؤدبك يكون الله في

1) R.Š.: את אביך ואת אמך; 2) R.Š.: ואת מיסרך.

“Respect your father and your mother and your educator; (*then*) God will be the shield of your help”.

ומיסרך: *pa.*, *pt* of יסר “to instruct”; cp. Tibet Marke, ed. Ben-Hayyim (Jerusalem 1988): הסכת למוסר ושמע למה דאת אלף: “hear the instruction and obey what you learn (fol. 112b). R.Š. as well as ABS render מוסר by مؤدب “educator”.

מגן עורך: “the shield of your (*Israel's*) help”. This is a citation from Dt 33:29: ... עֲזָרְךָ וְאַשְׁר־חֶרֶב גְּאוּנְךָ ... “O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency!”.

42. החכום¹ ינשק השוטר ידו: והסוכיל יסוד הנכר יאבדו²;

العالم يلثم يده الحاكم والجاهل يهدمه الاساس الردي

י.אבדו: R.Ş.: אבדו; G. 2051: אבדו; R.Ş.: החכם; 1) R.Ş.:

“The ruler kisses the hand of the wise man; the ignorant is destroyed by his strange (Ar.: *bad*) foundation (lit.: the strange foundation destroys him).”

cp. דרוש: החכום (no. 24).

השוטר: This word, which in the older language means “executive officer, overseer”, is translated as *والى* “ruler, governor” by ABS.

סוכיל והסוכיל noun from the root סכל Qal “to be ignorant, act foolishly”; the Ar. equivalent is *جَاهِل* (ABS).

יסוד הנכר: Gaster (Sam.Prov., p. 234) emends יסוד¹ “his foundation”. This expression is somewhat obscure. In his Ar. translation R.Ş. tries to give an interpretation “the bad foundation, origin” which makes better sense. Alternatively, נכר can be interpreted as “deceit” according to Sam.Trg. to Gen 18:15: וְאִנְכַּרְתָּ שָׂרָה: “and Sarah lied” (MS A).

י.אבדו: *recte* יאבדו (see n. 2).

43. לעשות מה צוֹךְ עבודך: אתפוג¹ בכל מאדך:

للامثال بما امرك خالكك انتبه بكل قواك

התפוג: R.Ş. 1)

“Be aware of submitting yourself to what your Creator ordered you with all your power”.

עבודך is act.pt.pe.; cp. no. 24.

אתפוג: imp., root פוג. The meaning of this root in Hb. and Aram. is “to evaporate, become faint, to escape”; JAram. itpol. אֲתַפּוּג “to seek relaxation from anger, seek diversion” (JAST. II, 1139). This makes no sense in the above proverb where אתפוג obviously has the meaning of the Ar. translation انتبه VIII (root نبه) “to be on one’s guard, to be aware, to be conscious”.

44. השמר מן פרי¹ השליט פן תאבד²: ולא תשטן מן תמר³ ועבד:

احذر من معاندة الحاكم لئلا تهلك ولا تعاند من اذا قل فعل

מ.אמר: R.Ş.: מן אמר; G. 2051: 3) וּתֵאבֹד: G. 2051: 2) פָּרַץ: R.Ş.: 1) G. 2051:

“Be on your guard against the despotism (Ar.: *resistance*) of the ruler

in order not to die (lit.: *so that you will not die*), and do not speak against (Ar.: *resist*) the one who, when he talks, acts”.

פרץ: cp. Hb. פָּרַץ “breach, gap, rupture”. In our context the word has the meaning “arbitrariness, despotism”.

תמר: recte: אמר.

45. מן יתגבר בחמסו: יתגבר בחמס ממנו:

من تجبر بظلمه صدم بالظلم منه

“Who demonstrates his strength by his violence collides with his own violence (lit.: *the violence from himself*)”.

יתגבר: התגבר / Ar. تَجَبَّر V “to strengthen, to demonstrate one’s strength or power”.

בחמסו: recte בחמסו; the nūn is written in all three versions, according to Gaster (Sam.Prov., p. 235, n. 2) for the sake of the rhyme.

46. הסוכיל לא יתפורר¹ מן סוכליו²: בממצא הבצע מתויאן עליו:

الجهل لا يستيقظ من جهله بوجود الطمع مستول عليه

סוכליו: G. 2051: 2) יתפורר: G. 2051: 1)

“The ignorant is not shattered by his ignorance, on finding the profit he takes up arms against it (Ar.: *he takes possession of it*)”.

הסוכיל: cp. no. 42.

יתפורר: R.Š. translates يستيقظ “wakes up”; according to the verb’s meaning in SA. Cp. ST Gn 28:16 ואתפורר = ויקץ (see LOT II, p. 581).

מתויאן: hitp.act.pt.sg.m. from the root יָמַן “to arm”. This form has no metathesis, opposite to itpa. נודי(א)ן “we are armed” (GSA 158:26).

47. האנש דיסתיר כסלותו¹: טב מן האנש דיסתיר חכמתו:

الرجل المستعرف بجهله احسن من الرجل الخافي علمه

cp. Sir. 20:31.

בכסלותו: R.Š.: 1)

“The man who hides (Ar.: *confesses, recognizes* < יודה, see n. 1) his ignorance is better than the man who hides his wisdom.

Rāṣôn Ṣadaqa's version: האנש דיודה בכסלותב leads to the Ar. translation الرجل المستعرف بجعله.

48. כשלות האנש תסיר רגלו¹: וכשלות הלשן² תסיר מדלו:

عثرة الانسان تزيل كفه رجله وعثرة اللسان تزيل ماله

cp. Sir. 5:13b.

1) G. 2051/R.Ṣ.: כף רגלו; 2) R.Ṣ.: לשון.

"The stumbling of a man stops his foot, and the stumbling of the tongue removes the wealth".

רגלו: cp. variant כף רגלו "the sole of his foot" (n. 1).

מדלו: cp. no. 15.

49. לא ידבק בידך מאומה מן החרם:

למען ישוב יהוה מחרון אפו ונתן לך רחמים¹:

لا يلصق بيدك شيء من الحرام عسى يثيب عليك الله ورزقك رحمة

1) G. 2051: הרחום.

Dt 13:18a: "No banned thing should cling to your hand, so that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger and give you mercy ...".

50. מן לא יצבה ויגרש ההול מן לבבו¹:

לא בטח² לא בחוצה³ ולא בתשובה⁴:

من لا يصرح ويطرد الغش من قلبه

لا يجد أماناً لا من الخارج ولا من الداخل

1) R.Ṣ.: הול לבבו; 2) G. 2051/R.Ṣ.: לא ישקח בטח; 3) G. 2051/R.Ṣ.: בחוץ; 4) G. 2051/R.Ṣ.: במושבו.

"He who does not want to drive away the foolishness from his heart will neither (*find*) security outside nor in his dwelling place".

יצבה < Aram. צבה "to wish, want". R.Ṣ. translates "shouts", probably because of mixing up the similar-sounding roots צבה and צבע "to shout" (rendered as صاح by ABS).

הול: "foolishness". This word is related to Hb. הוללות, הוללות "foolishness, folly, madness".

לא בטח: *recte* לא ישקח בטח (see n. 2).

במושבו: miswritten for בתשובה (see n. 2).

	ואחש ⁽²⁾ כאבו:	אחש ⁽¹⁾ השך	51.
R.Š.:	واخلع وجعه	اخلع السن	
‘ABBŪD 377:	وإقْلِعْ وَجْعَهُ	إقْلِعِ السِّنَّ	

cp. also HAEF. 762; BAUER 56.

1) R.Š.: חש; 2) G. 2051 אשח; R.Š.: חש.

“Extract the tooth and (*with it*) extract the pain”.

אחש: af.imp.sg.m. from root נחש “to uproot, remove”. The variant אשח (n. 2) might be either a misspelling or have been taken from the root נטש “to abandon”.

ABBREVIATIONS (including literature)

‘ABBŪD	Abbūd, and M. Thilo, <i>5000 Sprichwörter aus Palästina</i> . Berlin, 1933/37.
ABS	Ab Sakuwa, <i>Millōn</i> . Sam.-Ar. Dictionary (Xeroxcopy). Ms. Sam. 49b of the Institute für Semitistik/Arabistik, Free University, Berlin.
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
af.	af ^c el
B.H.	Z. Ben-Hayyim, <i>The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew amongst the Samaritans</i> , vol. III, pt. 2; Jerusalem 1967 (Hebrew).
LS	Brockelmann, C., <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> . Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1982 (repr. Halle an der Saale ² 1928).
CE	Common Era
cp.	compare
cs	constructus
ditt.	dittography
f.	feminine
FRE.	Freytag, G.W., <i>Arabum Proverbia</i> . Vols. I, II, III:1, III:2; Osnabrück 1968 (Reproductio phototypica editionis 1838-1843).
GOIT.	Goitein, S.D.F., <i>Jemenica – Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen</i> . Leiden 1970 (first ed. 1934).
GSA	Macuch, R., <i>Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch</i> . Studia Samaritana, ed. R. Macuch, vol. IV, Berlin/New York 1982.
H.	Hijra era
HAEF.	Haefeli, L., <i>Spruchweisheit und Volksleben in Palästina</i> . Lucerne 1939.
Hb.	Hebrew
hif.	hif ^c il
hitp.	hitpa ^c el

hitpol.	hitpolel
ibid.	ibidem
imp.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
itpa.	itpa'al
itpe.	itpe'el
itpol.	itpolal
ittaf.	ittaf'al
JAram.	Jewish Aramaic
JAST.	Jastrow, M., <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Jerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> . New York 1950.
lit.	literally
LOT	Z. Ben-Hayyim, <i>The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans</i> , I-V, Jerusalem 1957-1977.
M	J. Macdonald, <i>Memar Marqab. The Teaching of Marqab</i> , vol. I: the text; BZAW, vol. 84 (Berlin, 1963).
m.	masculine
Ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n.	note
nif.	nif'al
nom.det.	nomen determinatum
om.	omittitur
pa.	pa'el
pe.	pe'al
pf.	perfect
pi.	pi'el
prep.	preposition
pt.	participle
pu.	pu'al
ROBERTSON	Robertson, E., <i>Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester</i> . Manchester; vol. I, 1938; vol. II, 1962.
R.Ş.	Râşôn Şadaqa
SA	Samaritan Aramaic
Sam.	Samaritan
sg.	singular
SOC.	Socin, A., <i>Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten</i> . Wiesbaden 1967 (repr. Tübingen 1878).
Syr.	Syriac
Tarb.	Tarbiz
TM	Z. Ben Hayyim, <i>תיבת מרקה, Tibat Marqe. A Collection of Samaritan Midrashim</i> . Jerusalem, 1988 (Hebrew).

THE DATE OF BETHSHEMESH STRATUM II

BY

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This discussion focuses on the architectural phasing and ceramic chronology of Stratum II at Bethshemesh, a town situated in the Judean Shephelah (see Figure 1 for location). This stratum had been dated by the excavators to between the 10th and early 6th centuries B.C., and this chronology was followed by most later scholars. The present article is divided into four parts: (1) an analysis of the architectural sequence along the western flank of the tell, especially in the vicinity of the casemate wall, this being the area most extensively investigated by the Haverford Expedition; (2) a discussion of the Stratum II pottery in relation to the well-dated Judahite corpus of Iron Age II-III; (3) an examination of the evidence for occupation at Bethshemesh during the 7th and early 6th centuries B.C.; (4) a sketch of the history of the town during the later Iron Age, in the light of the archaeological reëvaluation.

Despite inadequacies in the excavation report, enough information was published to warrant such a reëvaluation. The main conclusion reached is that "Phase IIa" is actually a composite of two phases, the later of which comprises the casemate wall and adjoining houses. This second phase can be dated to the later 9th or early 8th centuries B.C., whereas the earlier phase belongs to the later 10th/9th centuries B.C. A second important result of the investigation is to show that Bethshemesh stood largely abandoned after the 8th century.

1. *Stratification of the Stratum II houses and defences*

Bethshemesh was excavated between 1911 and 1912 by Mackenzie, and again between 1928 and 1933 by Grant (Mackenzie 1911; idem 1912/13; Grant and Wright 1931, 39; Grant 1929). Mackenzie's soundings on the southern and central parts of the tell established the broad cultural sequence, which spanned the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the Iron Age and Persian period (as well as a Byzantine monastery). Grant's excavations focused on the western half of the tell, where five periods were distinguished:

- Stratum V — Middle Bronze Age IIB/C
- Stratum IVA/B — Late Bronze Age I/IIB
- Stratum IIIA/B — Iron Age I (12th-11th centuries B.C.)
- Stratum IIA — Iron Age IIA (10th century B.C.)
- Stratum IIB — Iron Age IIA/B (late 10th-9th centuries B.C.)
- Stratum IIC — Iron Age IIIA/B (8th-7th centuries B.C.) (Grant and Wright 1939, 67ff.)

The successive defensive systems of Bethshemesh were brought to light mainly along the western flank of the tell. Fragments of a casemate wall were assigned to Phase IIA and dated to the early 10th century B.C. This wall was presumed to have been destroyed before the end of that century, perhaps during the campaign of Pharaoh Shishak I. Thereafter, according to the excavators, the town remained unfortified, supporting only a small population during the 9th century B.C. This historico-chronological scheme has been generally accepted by archaeologists and Old Testament historians.

Within Stratum II Grant and Wright distinguished two main phases, labelled IIA and IIB/C, which they dated to the early 10th and the late 10th/early 6th centuries B.C. respectively (Grant and Wright 1939, 67ff.). The distinction between Subphases IIB and IIC was done mainly on the basis of changes in floor level rather than on modifications to the architecture (although there was some reconstruction, particularly towards the end of the occupation). In a number of loci a thin destruction level covered the Subphase IIB floors, although nowhere was this destruction level comparable to the major destructions terminating Phase IIA and Subphase IIC. The excavators maintained that the characteristically Israelite 'concentric' townplan of Phase IIB/C originated in the 10th century Phase IIA settlement (Grant and Wright 1939, 71).

The published plan of the Iron Age architectural remains from the western half of the tell is a composite of several buildings phases (see Figure 2). During and after the 1933 season of excavations, the level designations for these phases were adjusted, so that "Level II" as represented on the General Plan in *Ain Shems I* by cross-hatched walls became the equivalent to "Phase IIB/C" of the final publication (i.e. *Ain Shems IV*), whereas "Level III" on the early General Plan — comprising all walls in outline — came to be equated with "Phase IIA" of the final publication (Grant and Wright 1939, 15, 67).

It is clear, nevertheless, that some of the walls represented on the

General Plan belong to "Stratum III" of the final publication (which was equated with "Level IV: upper" of the pre-1933 seasons), dated to Iron Age I by the excavators. Such is the case for the city wall repair in Squares A.B29/V26 along the periphery of the tell, and for various wall fragments associated with this repair and with the later phases of the so-called "western tower" in Square T26 (Fig. 2a). In Square U27, for example, one can see clearly that the northern wall of Locus 100 (= Grant's "casemate wall tower") joins the "Level III" city wall repair at its western end, and is built over by the outer constituent of the casemate wall at its eastern preserved end (Locus 70); the inner constituent of the casemate wall is itself built over by a later wall, the west wall of Loci 92, 94 and 98. Thus the building remains represented on the General Plan, while belonging mostly to Phases IIA and IIB/C, do include elements of the earlier Iron Age townhouses and defences of "Stratum III".

The problem of resolving the complex and disparate building remains into a coherent phasing is compounded by the vagueness of the field records published by Grant (Grant and Wright 1931-1932). The field notes were presented in their original crude and sketchy format, and the brief accompanying text merely glossed the notes rather than explaining and amplifying them. The pottery catalogue, however comprehensive, is also vague, not providing sufficient objective contextual data for checking ceramic phasing. The excavation of the rooms of primary concern in the present study, i.e. those in and around Squares S.T.U./27-28 (Fig. 2a), was undertaken within a matter of days and is all-too-briefly reported in the final publication (Grant and Wright 1931, 25 ff.).

Within many of the rooms along the inner face of the casemate wall in this area, the excavators uncovered two occupational surfaces in association with the "Level II" house walls (Grant and Wright 1931, 25; reported for 31/8/29). The upper surfaces (i.e. "II:upper"; redefined as "Subphase IIC" after 1933), consistently fifty centimetres above the lower surface (i.e. "II: lower"; redefined as "Subphase IIB" after 1933), yielded an abundance of potsherds sealed below a heavy destruction level. Likewise the floors of the "II:lower" (IIB) occupation showed signs of destruction, though not as widespread or as intense as on the upper floors. Although the pottery from the two series of floor levels was collected and recorded separately, one rarely sees in the published drawings reference to the stratigraphic distinctions observed in the field notes, i.e. the bulk of the illustrated and/

or catalogued pottery from the relevant loci were relegated to "Level II," without further distinction.

The description of the "Level III" (= Phase IIA after 1933) buildings remains is even more vague (Grant and Wright 1931, 25 ff.). Clearance of Phase IIA structures took place during most of September 1929, after the planning of Phase IIB/C structures in late August and early September. But almost nothing is said in the publication of the character and extent of Phase IIA walls on the western side of the tell, nor of the floor levels associated with them.

Fragmentary remains of a city wall of casemate form were uncovered in two areas: Squares S.T.U/27-28 on the northwestern flank of the tell, and Squares X.Y.Z.AA/27-30 on the southwestern flank. Excavation of the city wall in the former area was reported in the field notes for August 31, 1929 as follows (Grant and Wright 1931, 25):

"W. city walls. Period II. Double wall with irregular space between. Inner wall follows approximately the contour of the hill. Outside room II:94 a slight angle. At a finely built thinner wall the inner wall is coursed but stones only roughly cut to fit. Small stones used to fill chinks and block up the course. Faced with good stones and core also large stones and not earth or rubble filled. Some tie stones and binders from both faces. The outer wall of similar construction and slightly heavier. Opposite the house with the vat room II:95 the outer wall turns out but is broken away at 2.10 from the corner. Traces of it remain to be more fully cleared to S. Outside house R86-88 a wall similar to last runs out from Inner Wall and may form part of tower at this point."

The outer constituent of the casemate wall is preserved in Square T27 for a length of 10 m.; there its width is about 1.5 m. (Fig. 2a). At a distance of 1.8-2.0 m. east of this runs the inner constituent, preserved for a length of 30 m. and about 1.1 m. thick. Two partitions are extant, one complete and the other fragmentary, both about 1.1 m. thick and apparently bonded with the inner and outer constituents. Thus in Square T27 there is one complete casemate (Locus II:91), about 5.5 m. long and 4.5 m. wide (outside measurement). South of this casemate is a second (Locus II:101), orientated in a more southerly direction, thus demonstrating a change in direction at the junction between Loci II:91 and II:101. The outer constituent of casemate Locus II:101 is only partly preserved, and runs over the east/west wall bounding Locus II:100 on its northern side. Further south the outer constituent has not survived (apart from some doubtful remains in Squares W.X/27, which could belong to Level III); its line is picked up again in Square Y27 (Fig. 2b).

Returning to Square T27, one sees that the casemate immediately north of Locus II:91 is transected by a stone-lined drainage channel built between adjacent houses (Loci II:93 and II:125), beginning at a peripheral ring-road with a collecting basin. The published plan leaves no doubt that the drainage channel was built in "Level III = Phase IIA" along with the casemate wall, and was reused in "Level II = Phase IIB/C."

The house on the south side of the drainage channel has two building phases. The first, represented by Locus III:39 (Phase IIA), is bounded by single-thickness stone walls on all sides except the west, where it is bounded by the casemate wall. In "Level II = Phase IIB/C" the house was remodelled: the inner constituent of the casemate wall was rebuilt (though not quite on line with its Phase IIA predecessor), as was the south wall; the north and east walls of Phase IIA were reused without change. The interior was subdivided into three areas: a large courtyard (Locus II:93) fronting two small rooms (Loci II:92 and II:94) adjacent to the casemate wall. A short segment of the drainage channel north of Locus II:92 was also rebuilt.

North of the drainage channel within "Level III = Phase IIA" is another building comprising Loci III:59 and (possibly) III:56 (though the latter may have belonged to a third structure). Of this structural phase only three segments of wall are preserved: the east wall is continuous with that of Locus III:39. In "Level II = Phase IIB/C" the structure was remodelled and part of it was built out and over the ruined casemate wall (Locus II:128). The south and east walls of "Level III = Phase IIA" were reused without alteration.

Adjoining Locus III:39 on its south side is another unit comprising Loci III:63 and III:66, along with two unnumbered loci south of Locus III:66. The Phase IIA house was built against the casemate wall. Its north wall is a party wall shared with Locus III:39, while its east wall continued the line of that of Locus III:39. Locus III:66 is evidently a partitioned-off area on the southern side of the courtyard (there may be fragmentary Stratum III walls in the vicinity, which bear little relationship to the Phase IIA walls). During "Level II = Phase IIB/C" all four boundary walls of this unit were rebuilt on approximately the same lines as the Phase IIA walls. In Locus II:95 a series of basins was incorporated into the rebuild, one of them partly overlapping the stump of the Phase IIA north wall. During the remodelling of the unit's east wall, a bench or platform was built against the face of the wall, within the street. Further to the south, in

Squares V.W/27-28, most of the pre-Phase IIB/C walls have been removed, so it is impossible to distinguish between remains of Strata III and II there. The Phase IIB/C house walls are built over and beyond the line of the Phase IIA casemate wall, a feature observed with even greater consistency on the southwestern flank of the tell.

The casemate wall, then, was built within the penultimate architectural phase distinguishable on the northwestern flank of the tell. This phase had been assigned initially to Level III because of an apparent similarity between its associated ceramics and those of Iron Age I found elsewhere on the tell (especially near the centre). But since the architecture of this phase prefigured that of the succeeding phase, i.e. Level II, the excavators elected to redefine the penultimate phase as an early subphase within Level II. In other words, it became "Phase IIA," whereas the ultimate architectural phase became "Phase IIB/C," its subphasing identified by the ubiquitous upper and lower floors associated with the same walls.

The bulk of the pottery from Phase IIA—which had been used to support a date within the 10th century B.C. for this phase—came from a storebuilding in Square AA-30 (Fig. 2b), and from a similar building further east (Locus 316; see Grant and Wright 1939, 134-36). The stratigraphic sequence in the vicinity of the storebuilding in Square AA-30 is very complicated (Fig. 2b); even amongst the walls labelled "Stratum III" in this area there are clear signs of rebuilding. The excavators did not adequately demonstrate stratigraphic continuity between the "Phase IIA" casemate wall in Square T27 and the "Phase IIA" storebuilding in Square AA-30. Indeed, the published evidence points to an earlier architectural phase for the storebuilding relative to the casemate wall.

Clear stretches of the latter are apparent in Squares X.Y.Z.AA/27-30 where, as further north, they appear to belong to a penultimate phase on the southwestern flank. Over and beyond it are the well-preserved walls of the ultimate phase, "Phase IIB/C" (labelled on the General Plan as "II" rather than "I" because of fragmentary Byzantine and Islamic walls and mixed debris beneath topsoil). The remains of a casemate wall are observed to run above the fragmentary remains of "Level III," which in this area must be pre-"Phase IIA," i.e. they must belong at latest to the "Phase III" of the final publication. Further to the southeast, bordering Loci II:31 and II:38 on the southwestern side, are the probable remains of the casemate wall's continuation. Here also the architectural sequence is the same: the

fragments of casemate wall are built over earlier Iron Age walls, and are themselves built into and over by yet later Iron Age walls. The projected course of the destroyed casemate wall along the southwestern flank of the tell would run *over* the line of the foundations of the storebuilding, which is said by the excavator to belong to "Phase IIA."

From the standpoint of architectural phasing, there are strong indications that the casemate wall belongs to a penultimate phase on the western side of the tell, but that the storebuildings belong to an antepenultimate phase. The latter, whose associated ceramics follow on closely from those of Stratum III, include building orientations that are somewhat different from the succeeding phase (in contrast with the situation further north). It is thus more logical to regard this series of buildings as a later phase of Stratum III, spanning the late Iron Age IIA and (?) IIB periods, rather than as an initial phase of Stratum II. For the sake of convenience, one may label this phase "IIIC." The initial phase of Stratum II, i.e. IIA, is represented by the casemate wall, whereas the houses built over it belong to the last phases, IIB and IIC. The storebuilding in Square AA-30 (along with certain other walls in the northwestern sector beneath the casemate wall), attributed by the excavators to "Phase IIA," are redefined here as representing Phase C of Stratum III, with its dominant ceramic parallels in the later 10th and early 9th centuries B.C. "Stratum IIA" in the northwestern sector, represented by the casemate wall and associated house units, is redefined as Phase IIA, and belongs to a period *after* the "Phase IIA" (= Phase IIIC) structures in the southwestern sector. During all phases of Stratum III Bethshemesh was protected by the Middle Bronze Age defences, which had been rebuilt several times over the centuries. The town came to be enclosed by a casemate wall sometime after the destruction of Stratum III. The date of the refortification is reflected in the pottery associated with the Phase IIA loci on the northwestern flank of the tell.

2. *Pottery Associated with the Casemate Wall*

In Figures 3-8 is assembled the published pottery from loci associated with the casemate wall (mainly from the northwestern sector). The designation "sub-II," employed in the site reports for seasons 1929-1930, refers to contexts below the Phase IIB floors but above the

Phase IIA walls and/or floors (although some of the pottery may derive from Phase IIIC contexts). Included are twenty-eight sherds attributed to "Phase IIA" and a further eight sherds attributed to "sub-II," i.e. to the period of occupation of their "Phase IIA."

In the following catalogue "II—" refers to the lower floor level, "II+" to the upper floor level, "sII" is sub-II material, and "-IIB" is pottery from below IIB floors. Plate numbers are all referenced to the site report, *Ain Shems IV*. Plate references marked with an asterisk are different sherds to the ones under discussion, but similar to the illustrated type.

For abbreviations used in the comparative ceramic analysis, refer to end of article.

Figure 3

1. Square U28. Locus 99. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 37:77. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 60:82, 64:9, 67:7, 12, 74:12; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 56:3, 11; *Lachish III*: Type 441; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 30:4, 6, 20, 21-24; *Megiddo I* Pl. 39:8, 11; *Haʿzor I* Pls. L:7, LII:9, 10, LXXII:2; *Haʿzor II* Pls. LXIV:11, 12, 14, LXIX:8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, LXXXV:4, 5, 7, 8, 14, XCIV:13, 16, CCLV:8, XCIX:15, 16, 19, 21; *Haʿzor III/IV* Pls. CCXLVIII:8, 9, 10, 11, CLXXX:11, CLXXXIV:8, 9, 10, 13, CCXX:23, CLXXXIX:11, CCLII:10, CCXXIV:1, 2, 4, CXC:2, CCXXI:3, CCXXXI:6, 9, CCXXVII:14-16, 19, CCLV:8; *Farah II* Fig. 9:3; *Yokne'am II* Fig. 8:16; *Yokne'am I* Fig. 11:15; *Yokne'am III* Fig. 12:1; *Bethshan* Figs. 35:2, 36:6, 37:3, 38:4, 39:4; *Dan* Fig. 25:2, 4; *Keisan* Pl. 43:6, 7; *Gezer II* Pls. 34:6, 36:3; *Ashdod I* Pl. 37:16; *Ashdod II-III* Pls. 37:23, 40:9, 11, 55:8, 11, 13, 14-18.
2. Square U28. Locus 99. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 37:77*. Cooking Pot. Same type as no. 1.
3. Square W28. Locus 23. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:59. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Megiddo I* Pl. 39:7, 12; *Haʿzor III/IV* Pls. CCXLVIII:5-7, CLXXX:12, CCXXIV:3, CCXVII:17, 20; *Farah II* Figs. 6:13, 9:4; *Ashdod I* Fig. 37:17; *Beersheba I* Pls. 60:81, 83, 68:4, 69:4, 70:17, 18, 73:11, 74:10, 11; *Lachish III* Type 687.
4. Square W27. Locus 83. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 37:84. Cooking Pot. Late shallow-bodied variety, with earlier rim morphology; no close parallels.
5. Square S30. Locus 44. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:46. Cooking Pot. Early shallow-bodied variety; rim morphology as for no. 3,

- intermediate between Kenyon's Classes B and C, qv. *Samaria-Sebaste III* Pls. 6:31, 36, 38, 9:18, 30:2-6, 15-24.
6. Square "North:23/9/29." Locus unstated. No level designations. Pl. 37:78. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 60:78-80, 84, 85, 66:4, 10, 12, 70:19, 71:14; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pls. 55:2, 4?, 5?, 7, 9, 56:2, 9; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 19:1-4; *Lachish III* Type 442; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 6:33, 37, 39, 40, 9:18, 30:5; *Megiddo I* Pl. 39:1, 3, 5, 6; *Hazor I* Pls. L:6, 9, LXXIII:39; *Hazor II* Pls. LXIV:9, 10, LXIX:4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18; *Hazor III/IV* Pls. CCXLVIII:6, 7, CCXIX:18, CCXLIX:26, 27, 28; *Taanach I* Pl. 76:6; *Yokne'am III* Fig. 10:5, 6; *Bethshan* Fig. 34:6; *Dan* Fig. 25:6, 7; *Keisan* Pl. 46:4, 4a; *Gezer II* Pls. 34:7, 35:20; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 55:2, 6, 7, 9, 10.
 7. Square T28. Locus 93. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 37:83. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pl. 61:92, 97, 66:13, 69:15; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pls. 55:10, 56:6, 7, 12, 14; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 19:5, 6, 9; *Lachish III* Types 451, 452, 186?
 8. Square T28. Locus 93. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 37:83*. Cooking Pot. Parallels as for no. 7.
 9. Square W28. Locus "sub-temple." II/III (1930); IIA/B (1933). Pl. 37:62. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 61:91, 93, 96; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pls. 55:1, 3, 6, 11, 12, 56:13; *Lachish III* Type 456.
 10. Square R27. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:51. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Hazor II* Pls. LVII:25, LVIII:1, 2; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 4:22; *Farah I* Fig. 11:12.
 11. Square R27. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:55. Cooking Pot. Similar to no. 10, but handleless. Cf. *Deir 'Alla I* Pl. 59:21; *Beersheba I* Pl. 55:11; *Tell en-Nasbeh II* Pl. 48:1008; *'Amal* 10:4. The floruit of this type of cooking pot appears to be in the 9th century B.C.
 12. Square U30. Locus unstated. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 37:73. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Bethshan* 34:1.
 13. Square U30. Locus unstated. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 37:74. Cooking Pot. Parallels as for no. 9.
 14. Square T28. Locus 93. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 37:90. Cooking Pot. Parallels as for no. 6.
 15. Square T28. Locus 130. II-/III (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 37:58. Cooking Pot. Parallels as for no. 2.
 16. Square T28. Locus 93. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 37:90*. Cooking Pot. Parallels as for no. 2. 'Quadrangular' rim morphology, of later 8th century B.C.

Figure 4

17. Square S28. Locus 118. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 34:8. Jar. Cf. *Lachish III* Types 549, 551; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 51:14.
18. Square W27. Locus 83. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 34:15. Jar. Parallels as for no. 17.
19. Square S30. Locus 77. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 34:7. Jar. Cf. *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 52:5; *Gezer II* Pl. 33:20.
20. Square U.V./28-29. Locus 37w. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 34:15*. Jar. Parallels as for no. 17.
21. Square U28. Locus 63. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 38:20. Juglet. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 62:115-17, 64:14; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 68:33, 35, 37-43, 47; *Lachish III* Types 282, 284, 292, 283, 294, 286; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 10:23, 23:10, 12; *Megiddo I* Pl. 1:16; *Haʿzor I* Pl. L:12; *Haʿzor II* Pls. LXIV:17, LXX:3, 5, 9; *Haʿzor III/IV* Pls. CLXXX:15, CLXXXIV:17, 20, 21, 22, 24; *Bethshan* Fig. 37:2, 4; *Ashdod II-III* Figs. 45:31, 32, 50:12, 56:16; *Goren* Fig. 19:8, 9; *Ramat Rahel II* Pls. 18:18?, 20:15.
22. Square "North:23/9/29." Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 38:20*. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 21.
23. Square U28. Locus 95. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 39:63. Juglet. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 62:126-28, 69:16, 17; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 68:4, 5, 7-12; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 18:1-9; *Lachish III* Types 309, 321; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 10:24, 23:2, 3; *Megiddo I* Pls. 1:29, 2:47-51, 53; *Haʿzor I* Pl. LVI:5; *Haʿzor II* Pl. LXXXVI:1-4; *Haʿzor III/IV* Pl. CCXLVIII:14; *Farah I* Figs. 10:1, 11:15; *Farah II* Fig. 8:1; *Bethshan* Fig. 70:17, 18; *Ashdod I* Fig. 40:13; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 38:7.
24. Square U29. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 39:11. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 23.
25. Square T28. Locus unstated. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 39:22. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 23.
26. Square S28. Locus 118. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 38:37. Juglet. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pl. 62:118, 119; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pls. 68:23, 44, 45, 67:34, 69:20, 23, 26; *Lachish III* Types 285, 287; *Ramat Rahel II* Pls. 18:17, 20:14; *Metzad Hashavyahu* Fig. 5:5; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 10:21, 23:11; *Megiddo I* Pls. 1:17, 2:64, 65; *Haʿzor I* Pl. LXIII:18; *Haʿzor II* Pls. LXX:6, LXXIX:22; *Haʿzor III/IV* Pls. CCXLVIII:13, CCXX:25, 27, CLXXXIX:15; *Farah II* Fig. 8:2; *Yokne'am II* Fig. 8:11; *Bethshan* Fig. 70:16; *Gezer II* Pls. 33:21, 22, 36:14; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 41:18.

Figure 5

27. Square R29. Locus 119. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 38:38. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 26.
28. Square S28. Locus 118. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 39:14. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 23.
29. Square U28. Locus 96. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 41:6. Jar. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 57:5, 73:4; *Ramat Rahel II* Pls. 19:5, 20:11; *Goren* Fig. 22:7; *Gezer II* Pls. 33:19, 34:17, 35:24.
30. Square S28. Locus 118. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 43:5. Decanter. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 62:100, 102, 64:17, 74:17-19; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 59:5, 6; *Lachish III* Types 276, 279, 280, 268, 275, 281; *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 35:4.
31. Square T28. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 31:30. Bowl. Cf. *Lachish III* Types 81, 82; *Metzad Hashavyahu* Fig. 4:15; *Megiddo I* Pl. 23:18; *Hasor I* Pls. LXVI:16, 17; *Hasor III/IV* Pls. CCXXVI:5, CCLIV:12; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 94:3.
32. Square T28. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 43:12. Jug. Cf. *Tell Beit Birsim I* Pls. 58:7-9, 59:9, 10; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 14:1, 4.
33. Square U29. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 39:10. Juglet. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 66:1, 62:114, 120, 66:15, 70:12, 15; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 18:14, 15, 11, 30; *Lachish III* Types 310, 311, 313, 319, 320, 333; *Goren* Figs. 9:1, 19:1-7; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 23:9; *Megiddo I* Pls. 1:28, 2:54-57, 61-63; *Hasor I* Pl. L:13; *Hasor II* Pl. LXX:4; *Hasor III/IV* Pl. CCXXVIII:16, 17, 19; *Farah I* Fig. 10:13; *Farah II* Fig. 8:5; *Bethshan* Figs. 38:8, 70:14; *Gezer II* Pls. 33:12, 34:11.
34. Squares Y.Z./27. Locus 67. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 39:17. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 33.

Figure 6

35. Square T29. Locus "gutter." Levels unstated. Pl. 39:16. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 33.
36. Square U29. Locus 37w. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 43:3. Jug. Cf. *Metzad Hashavyahu* Fig. 5:7; *Lachish III* Type 205; *Ashdod II-III* Figs. 42:1, 2, 46:1-3, 50:16, 94:10; *Ashdod IV* Fig. 10:16.
37. Square T28. Loci 95/96. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 31:26. Cf. *Deir 'Alla I* Pl. 73:21; *Taanach I* Pl. 48:1.
38. Square U29. Locus unstated. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 32:63. Bowl. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 60:73-76, 72:13, 74:4; *Tell Beit Mirsim III*

- Pl. 20:13-18; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 60:3-7, 9, 10a-13; *Lachish III* Types 651, 652, 649, 655, 122, 657, 120, 647; *Metzad Hashavyahu* Fig. 4:14; *Goren* Fig. 16:3-6; *Ramat Rahel II* Figs. 18:1-4, 20:3, 18:5; *Aro'er* Fig. 15:21, 22, 5:3; *Megiddo I* Pl. 27:86; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 12:2, 3, 20:1; *Hazor II* Pls. LXXV:2, XCVIII:13; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CCXIX:14; *Qasile* Figs. 10:d, 12:d; *Gezer II* Pl. 34:1; *Ashdod I* Fig. 42:8.
39. Square U29. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:43. Bowl. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 59:58, 63, 65-67, 69, 64:1, 3; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 61:3-6, 8, 12-14, 17; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pls. 20:5, 21:1, 2, 22:8, 14, 23:2, 7, 11, 12; *Lachish III* Types 632, 638, 643, 640, 630; *Goren* Fig. 9:5; *Aro'er* Fig. 15:3; *Masos* Fig. 11:8; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 11:1, 13:8, 16, 17, 32:6, 8, 7:1; *Hazor II* Pl. LIII:35, 36; *Hazor III/IV* Pls. CLXXXI:40, 43, CLXXXII:4, 5; *Yokne'am I* Fig. 10:11; *Ashdod II-III* Fig. 5:10.
40. Square T28. Locus 29e. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 32:64. Bowl. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 59:46-53, 68:10, 70:7; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 24:12, 14; *Lachish III* Types 41, 42, 43, 44, 55, 57, 616; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CCXLIX:3; *Keisan* Pl. 40:7; *Ashdod II-III* Figs. 37:1-3, 39:6, 39:2-5, 6-12.
41. Square Z28. Locus 60. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 32:72. Bowl. No close parallels. This vessel and closely related types are relatively common in Phase IIA at Bethshe mesh (cf. *Ain Shems IV* Pl. LXIII:7, 8, and related vessels 1-6). Vessels more or less closely related to the 'narrow disc-based' varieties are found close at the following sites: *Hazor II* Pl. LIII:8, 10, 11; *Hazor I* Pl. XLIX:25; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CLXXX:2; *Taanach I* Pl. 64:6-8; *Bethshan* Fig. 59:14; *Gezer II* Pl. 32:22, all falling within the Iron Age II, and especially IIB. Smaller vessels such as no. 41, with basering, may be later in date; cf. *Keisan* Pls. 41:11a, 29:1, 30:6, 7, 35:8; *Farah I* Fig. 12:7.
42. Square T28. Locus unstated. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 32:79. Bowl. Cf. *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 65:24, 25.
43. Square T28. Locus 93. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 32:89. Bowl. Parallels as for no. 39; cf. also *Lachish III* Types 630, 651.
44. Square T27. Locus 91. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 32:83. Bowl. Cf. *Hazor II* Pl. LXIII:4; *Megiddo I* Pl. 30:120; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 6:7; *Amal* Fig. 15:8; *Keisan* Pls. 52:2, 5, 41:3b; *Dan* Fig. 24:9; *Taanach I* Pls. 73:4, 76:5; *Beersheba I* Pl. 55:5.

45. Square T27. Locus 91. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 32:84. Bowl. Cf. *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 65:10, 11; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pls. 25:20, 24:3, 7, 27; *Lachish III* Types 7, 8; *Megiddo I* Pl. 24:46; *Haʿazor II* Pl. XCII:9; *Bethshan* Fig. 67:16, 21; *Keisan* Pl. 41:10.
46. Square T27. Locus = 94. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 37:80. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Lachish III* Types 684, 685, 694; *Megiddo I* Pl. 40:21.
47. Square T28. Locus 93. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 37:81. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Samaria-Sebaste III* Figs. 4:22, 6:34; *Bethshan* Fig. 66:8; *Keisan* Pl. 34:10, 52:15; *Farah II* Fig. 9:4; *ʿEin Gev* Fig. 4:1; *Deir ʿAlla I* Pls. 54:2, 4, 61:46, 63:77, 78, 64:10, 12, 66:34, 35, 48, 69:39, 41, 71:45, 50, 63, 71, 74:28, 44.
48. Square T28. Locus 93. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 37:82. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Haʿazor I* Pl. L:8; *Haʿazor III/IV* Pl. CCXX:21; *Haʿazor II* Pl. LXXIX:19; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 4:20; *Bethshan* Fig. 69:17, 18; *Megiddo I* Pl. 39:2; *Keisan* Pl. 34:8, 9; *Deir ʿAlla I* Pls. 53:63, 68, 54:13, 56:49, 51, 53, 59:25, 26, 31, 32, 46, 47.

Figure 7

49. Square R30. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:44. Bowl. Parallels as for no. 38.
50. Square R27. Locus unstated. III-IV (1930); IIIA-IIA (1933). Pl. 37:50. Bowl (called a cooking pot by the excavators). Parallels as for no. 38.
51. Square T28. Locus "channel: east." II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 40:23. Jar. Cf. *Beersheba I* Pls. 65:10, 11, 67:4; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 52:10; *Tell Beit Mirsim III* Pl. 13:3; *Lachish III* Type 484; *Gezer II* Pls. 33:15, 16, 34:2.
52. Square W27. Locus 83. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 38:22. Juglet. Parallels as for no. 21.
53. Square W26. Locus unstated. sII (1930); -IIB (1933). Pl. 43:4. Jug. Related to the following vessels from Bethshemesh: *Ain Shems IV* Pls. LX:1, 8, LXV:39; cf. also *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 1:10; *Haʿazor II* Pl. LXXVII:11, 15; *Megiddo I* Pl. 7:162; *Tell en-Nasbeh II* Pl. 37:651, 656; *ʿEin Gev* Fig. 6:4-6; *Taanach I* Pl. 62:6, 7.
54. Square V28. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 32:68. Bowl. Progenitors in Iron Age I, continuing into Iron Age II; cf. *Haʿazor II* Pl. LIII:4; *Haʿazor III/IV* Pl. CCXLIX:3; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 4:6; *Taanach I* Pls. 45:2, 46:4, 48:1, 3-5, 10; *Deir ʿAlla I* Pls. 54:28, 58:22, 59:56, 64:51, 73:21?, 75:8, 35.

55. Square W28. Locus 23. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:60. Deep bowl. Cf. *Taanach I* Pl. 52:3; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CCIII:17.
56. Square W28. Locus "sub-temple." III-II (1930); IIA/B (1933). Pl. 37:61. Cooking Pot. Possibly a four-handled jar. No close parallels.
57. Square W28. Locus "sub-temple." III-II (1930); IIA/B (1933). Pl. 37:63. Jar. No close parallels.
58. Square R27. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:53. Jar. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pl. 71:18; *Hazor II* Pl. LXVIII:5, 6; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CLXXXVI:1.

Figure 8

59. Square Y.Z 27. Locus 67. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 43:8. Decanter. Parallels as for no. 30.
60. Square AA30. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 38:11. Juglet. Common throughout the Iron Age.
61. Square Z31. Locus unstated. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 31:27. Bowl. Parallels as for no. 38.
62. Square T32. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 45:25. Lamp. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 63:133-36, 64:19-21, 66:19; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 70:5, 6, 8, 9; *Lachish III* Types 150, 151; *Goren* Fig. 23:6, 7; *Metzad Hashavyahu* Fig. 5:18; *Megiddo I* Pl. 37:7; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CCXXXII:9.
63. Square S30. Locus 71. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 39:56. Jug. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pls. 68:7, 8, 15, 72:23; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 69:2, 3, 5; *Lachish III* Types 176, 183, 184, 191; *Samaria-Sebaste III* Fig. 22:10; *Megiddo I* Pls. 2:58-60, 5:112; *Hazor III/IV* Pl. CLXXXV:1; *Hazor II* Pl. LXXV:5; *Gezer II* Pl. 35:7; *Ashdod II-III* Figs. 45:26, 50:14.
64. Square S30. Locus 71. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 32:60. Bowl. Cf. *Beersheba II* Pl. 59:37; *Tell Beit Mirsim I* Pl. 67:17, 18; *Lachish III* Type 20; *Goren* Fig. 15:9; *Hazor II* Pl. LXXV:3; *Yokne'am I* Fig. 11:3.
65. Square T29. Locus unstated. II (1930); IIB/C (1933). Pl. 31:17. Bowl. Parallels as for no. 38.
66. Square S30. Locus 44. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 32:78. Bowl. Characteristic of Bethshemesh IIA and early IIB; red slip and chordal burnish; cf. *Ain Shems IV* Pl. LXIII:14-22.
67. Square R30. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:45. Cooking Pot. Cf. *Hazor II* Pl. XCIX:15, 16; *Hazor III/IV*

- Pl. CCXVII:13; *Ain Shems IV*. Pl. LXIV:28; *Tell en-Nasbeh II* Pl. 47:989.
68. Square R27. Locus unstated. III (1930); IIA (1933). Pl. 37:52. Jar/krater. Cf. *Bethshan* Fig. 68:13; *Hazor I* Pl. LXXIII:36; *Hazor II* Pl. LXVIII:4; *Megiddo I* Pl. 29:112.
69. Square "north:23/9/29." Locus unstated. II- (1930); IIB (1933). Pl. 38:19. Juglet. Common throughout Iron Age.

The most obvious fact emerging from the above analysis is that each of the architectural phases within Stratum II has been contaminated with earlier material, accounting for about a quarter of the published pottery from each phase. In the case of the pottery associated with Phases IIB/C, one sherd (no. 46) belongs within the Iron Age II period, while five others (nos. 4, 37, 41, 44 and 69) appear during Iron Age II and continue into Iron Age III. The remaining three-quarters of the corpus of Phases IIB/C pottery is contemporary with types of the 8th century B.C. in Judah, Israel and Philistia, with seven sherds (nos. 14, 17, 18, 26, 27, 30, 61) common to types of both the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. None of the published pottery is characteristic of the 7th century B.C. exclusively. It is thus safe to conclude that the casemate wall was destroyed before the end of the 8th century B.C. (see below for more on the historical context).

The published pottery from Phase IIA in the northwestern sector yields some interesting results. Whereas it is generally accepted by archaeologists that the excavators' "Phase IIA" belongs within the 10th century B.C., the above analysis has shown that three-quarters of the wall-associated pottery of this phase belongs clearly within the 8th century B.C., including such characteristic forms as grooved-rim cooking pots, cooking pots with deep bodies and rilled rims, ring-burnished bowls, decanters with V-shaped neck-ridges, low disc-based lamp, elongated cylindrical juglets, black-burnished juglets with handles attached at rim, folded-rim bowls, holemouth jars with rilled rims. Of the ten sherds that have parallels in contexts of Iron Age I and/or II, seven are also found in contexts of Iron Age also IIIA and/or IIIB (nos. 3, 5, 10?, 54, 60, 47, 48), the remainder having their closest parallels in contexts of the 10th and/or 9th centuries B.C. (nos. 10?, 11, 53, 66). Since the ratio between Iron Age II and Iron Age III sherds in the Phase IIA contexts is about 1:3, the question is whether Phase IIA represents a long occupation covering the 9th and

8th centuries B.C.—with a late-biased ceramic profile (as is often the case with heavy destruction levels terminating an occupation)—or whether the bulk of the Iron Age II sherds should be considered either as ‘rubbish survival’ or as contamination from Phase IIIC. In the writer’s view there are two arguments against the ‘long occupation’ hypothesis: (1) Phase IIA in the northwestern sector consisted of a single floor level in each locus, and there is no clear evidence for architectural renovations during this phase; (2) since the overlying phase, IIB, also included a similar 1:3 ratio of quite obviously intrusive Iron Age II sherds, those similar sherds from Phase IIA are likely to have been intrusive as well (in general terms).

The discussion so far has established the destruction date of Phase IIA—and of the casemate wall—during the second half of the 8th century B.C., rather than the late 10th century B.C. The balance of probability lies with a late 9th/early 8th centuries B.C. *terminus post* for Phase IIA, the bulk of the Iron Age II sherds in the corpus resulting from disturbance of Phase IIIC deposits during construction of the new city wall. The concentric townplan belongs initially to Phase IIA as well.

3. *The Final Destruction of Bethshemesh*

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the excavators had maintained that Phase IIC belongs to Iron Age III (ca. 825-586 B.C. according to their chronological scheme), the final heavy destruction of the site owing itself to one of the Neo-Babylonian campaigns. This conclusion must now be called into question.

Since Phase IIC consisted of a single floor level within each locus, and since the associated sherds came exclusively from occupational buildup on the floors beneath the heavy destruction layer, the ceramic profile will have been distinctly late-biased. If the destruction had occurred during the late 7th century B.C. or early in the following century, one would expect to find a preponderance of Iron Age IIIB types in the Phase IIC corpus. But this is not the case. As noted earlier, none of the Phase IIC pottery associated with the final destruction of the casemate wall is specifically 7th century B.C. in form. When *all* the published Phases IIB/C pottery is taken into account, one finds only a very small percentage of 7th century B.C. types and, as will be seen presently, most of those derive from unstratified tomb deposits west of the tell and from a handful of uncertain contexts on the mound.

Twenty-one sherds characteristic of the period ca. 650-586 B.C. were published from the site (see Figures 9 and 10). About half of them are holemouth jars with elongated, inturned rims (*Ain Shems I* Pl. XXXIV:12, Fig. 9:1 here; *ibid.*, 1, 2, 16, 13, 18, 19, Fig. 9:2-7 here; *ibid.*, 3, 4, Fig. 9:8, 9 here; *Ain Shems IV* Pl. LXV:18, 21, 28, Fig. 9:10-12 here). The sherd illustrated as Fig. 9:1 comes from a disturbed context of "Stratum III" (= Phase IIA here); Fig. 9:5 comes from a similarly disturbed context. Three vessels came from loci scattered across the interior of the tell (Fig. 2:2 from Square S30; 3, from Square S32, and 4, from Square W27). The remaining two vessels came from a cave deposit (Cave 17, Square R22) on the northwestern slope of the tell.

There is one rim sherd of a cooking pot (Fig. 9:13), from Tomb 11 in the Northwest Cemetery. This vessel is reported to have come from the lowest deposit in the tomb, alongside pottery of the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (Grant and Wright 1931, 8); so here again a much-disturbed context is involved.

The corpus includes three lamps with high disc bases. Two are from unspecified loci (Fig. 10:14, 15), and the third is from Tomb 14 in the Northwest Cemetery, which also contained pottery of the 6th century B.C. (Fig. 10:17, 18). So far no occupation of the 6th century B.C. has been found on the tell.

There is one example of a lamp with low ring-base (Fig. 10:19; *Ain Shems I* Pl. XLV:39), from a "sub-II" (= Phase IIA) context, again quite clearly intrusive. Finally, there are two 'red jugs' (Fig. 10:20, 21; *Ain Shems IV* Pl. LXVII:13, 14), both from uncertain loci in the southern half of the tell (Squares Z31 and V.W/39-40 respectively).

None of the handful of Iron Age IIIB vessels/sherds came from reliable stratigraphic contexts. Several derived from unstratified deposits west of the tell, including a tomb of the Persian period for which no contemporary settlement has yet been located. The appearance of these Iron Age IIIB vessels/sherds indicates a small, perhaps transient, occupation of part of the site during the late 7th and/or 6th centuries B.C. As it stands, the evidence is insufficient to warrant the assumption that Phase IIC continued into the 7th century B.C.

4. *Stratum II in Historical Perspective*

Following a brief period of importance during the 10th century B.C., Bethshemesh returned to being a fairly undistinguished town-

ship on the frontier of Judah (the town is listed in 1Kgs 4:9 within Solomon's second administrative district). After the division of the Kingdom, village life continued at Bethshemesh, though the town remained unfortified (if one is to accept the statement in 2Chr 11:10 that Rehoboam fortified the nearby town of Zorah in preference to Bethshemesh).

Bethshemesh appears to have achieved some measure of strategic importance by the 8th century B.C., as revealed in 2Kgs 14:11 (cf. also 2Chr 25:21). This text, if correct, implies that by the early 8th century Bethshemesh had become a suitable place of military refuge. In other words, it had become fortified by that time. There is little implication, however, that on this occasion the town was destroyed by the Israelite army. Amaziah probably used the fortified town on his northern frontier as a field headquarters, the military confrontation taking place near the town.

The final destruction of Bethshemesh took place, as argued above, before the end of the 8th century B.C. Since Phase IIC was preceded by two phases both within the 8th century B.C., a very late date for the final destruction seems warranted. The close similarity between Phases IIB/C pottery and that from other Judahite sites of the 'Sennacherib invasion' horizon supports a destruction sometime in the late 8th century B.C. Indeed, 701 B.C. is the most likely historical context for the destruction. The earlier destruction level, which destroyed Phase IIA, may have been caused by the Joint Invasion of Judah in 735 B.C. The smaller destruction at the end of Phase IIB could well have been a localised phenomenon. Alternatively it may reflect the 732 B.C. campaign of Tiglath-pileser III, who is known to have destroyed nearby Gezer at that time. Thus in all likelihood Bethshemesh suffered the same fate as so many of the fortified towns in and around Judah during the second half of the 8th century B.C. Likewise, Bethshemesh stood largely abandoned after its final destruction, though it may have supported a small occupation during the 6th century B.C.

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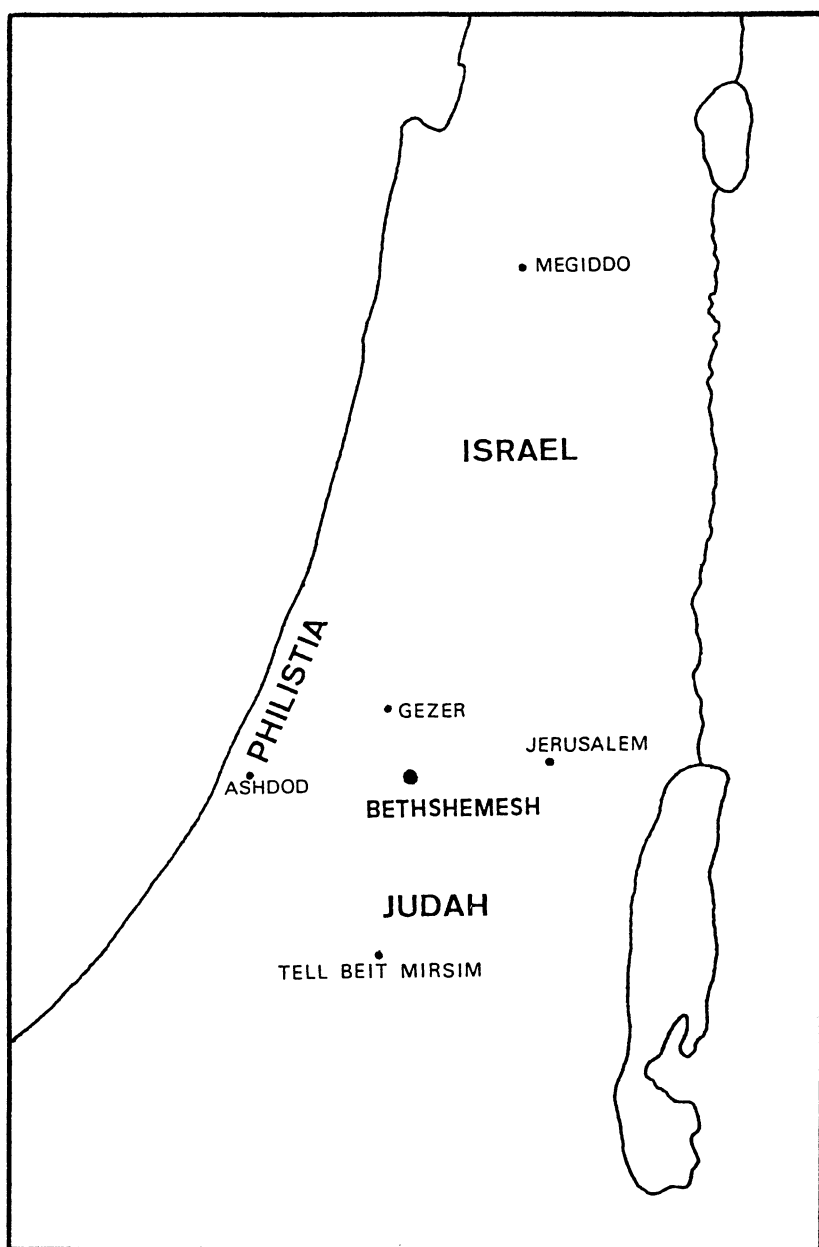


FIGURE 1: Map of Palestine, showing location of Bethshemesh.

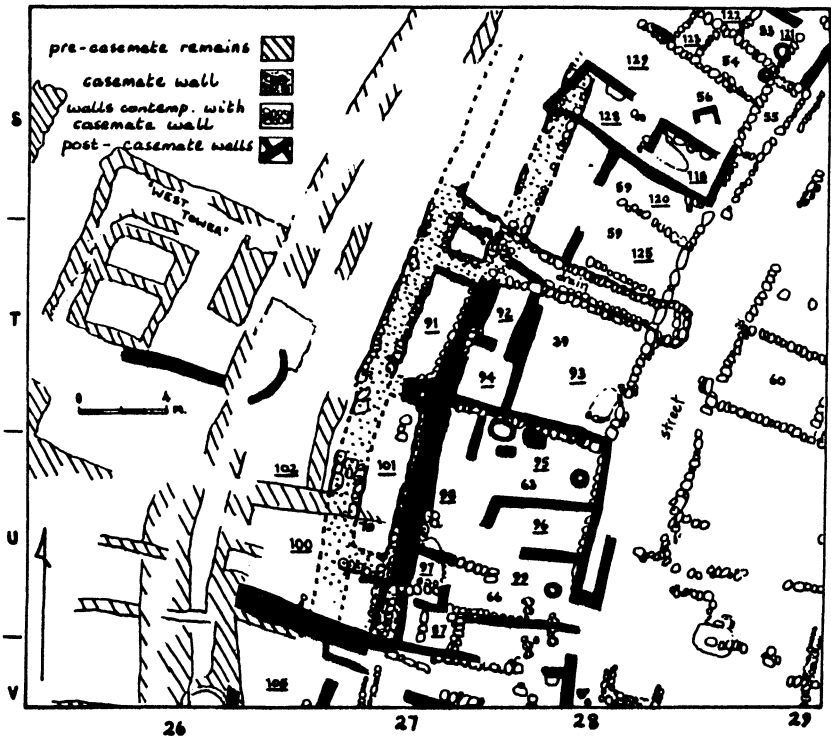


FIGURE 2a: Composite Plan of Iron Age remains at Bethshemesh. Northwest Sector.
(After Grant and Wright 1931, General Plan).

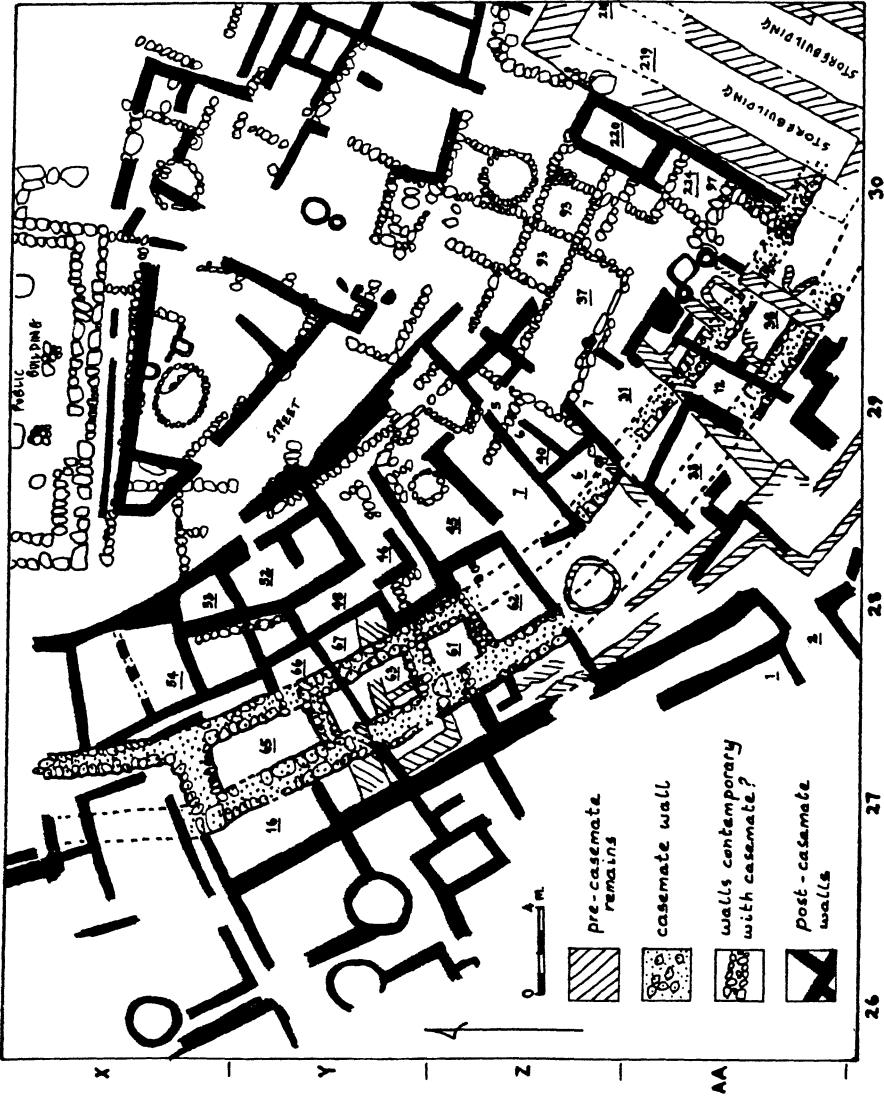
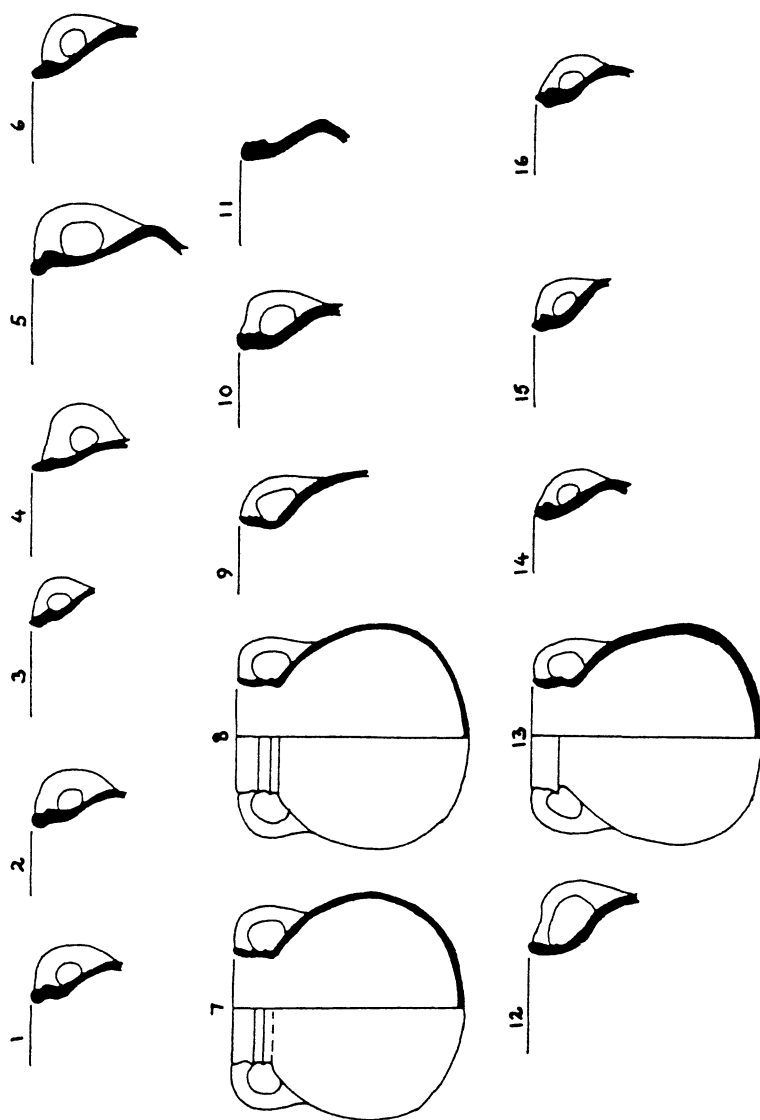
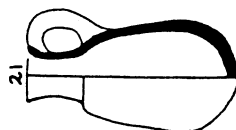
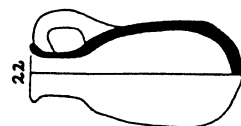
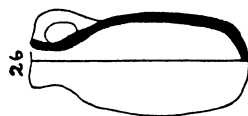
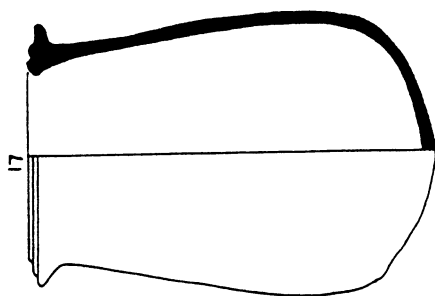
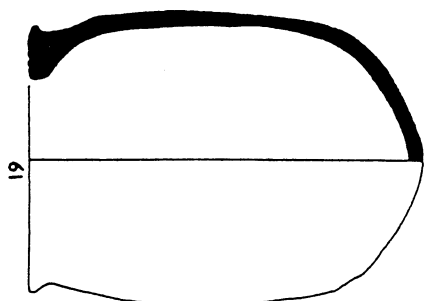
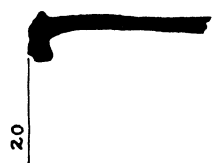
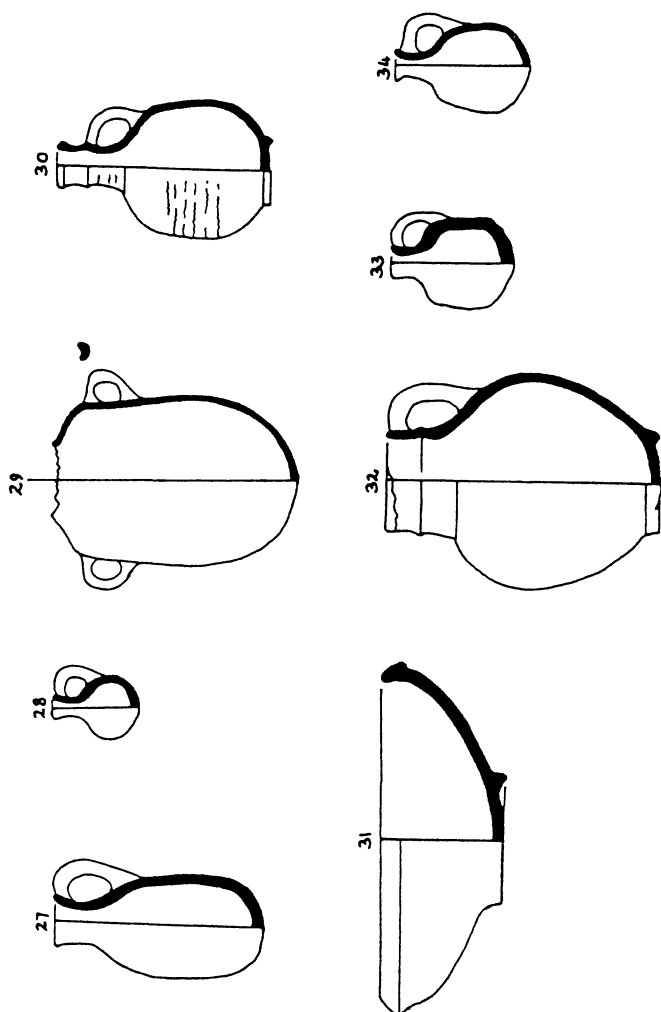


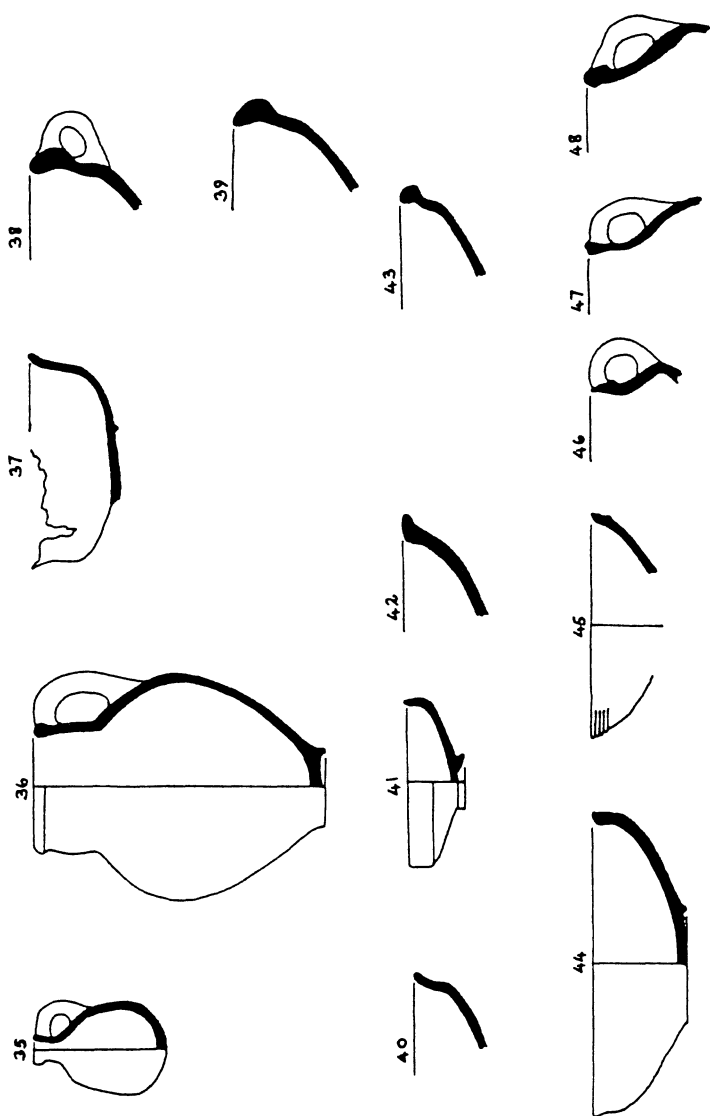
FIGURE 2b: Composite Plan of Iron Age Remains at Bethshemesh, Southwest Sector
(After Gertzel and Wightman, *Canal Plan*)

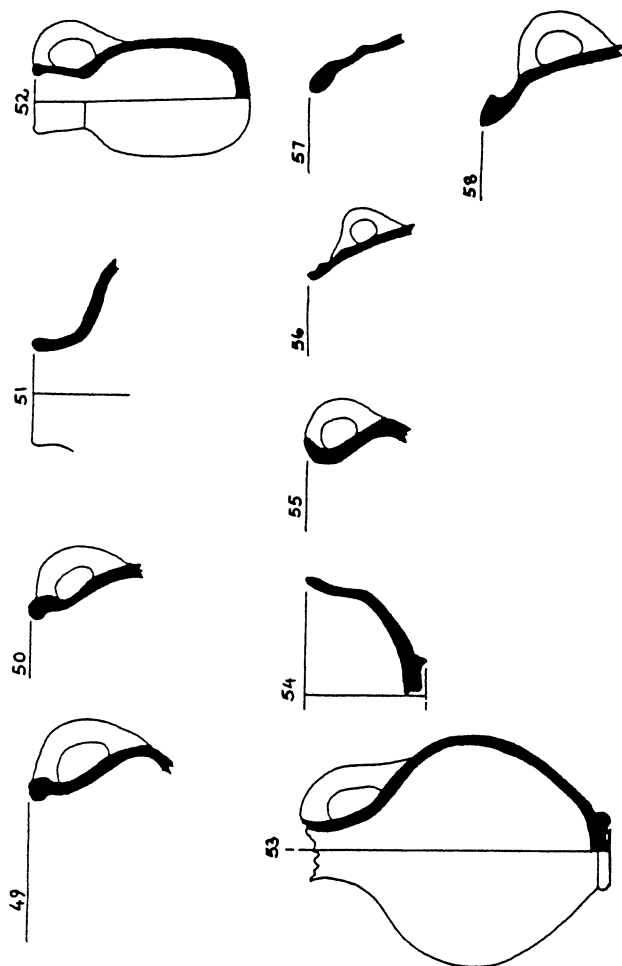


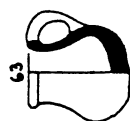
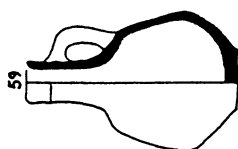
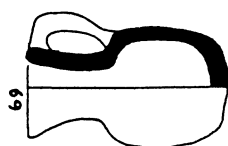
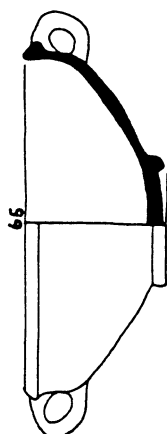
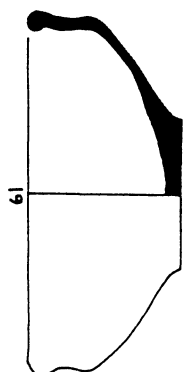
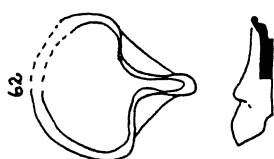
FIGURES 3-8: Pottery from Stratum II, mainly associated with the casemate wall
(redrawn and reduced, from Grant and Wright 1932, Pls. XXXI-XLV).

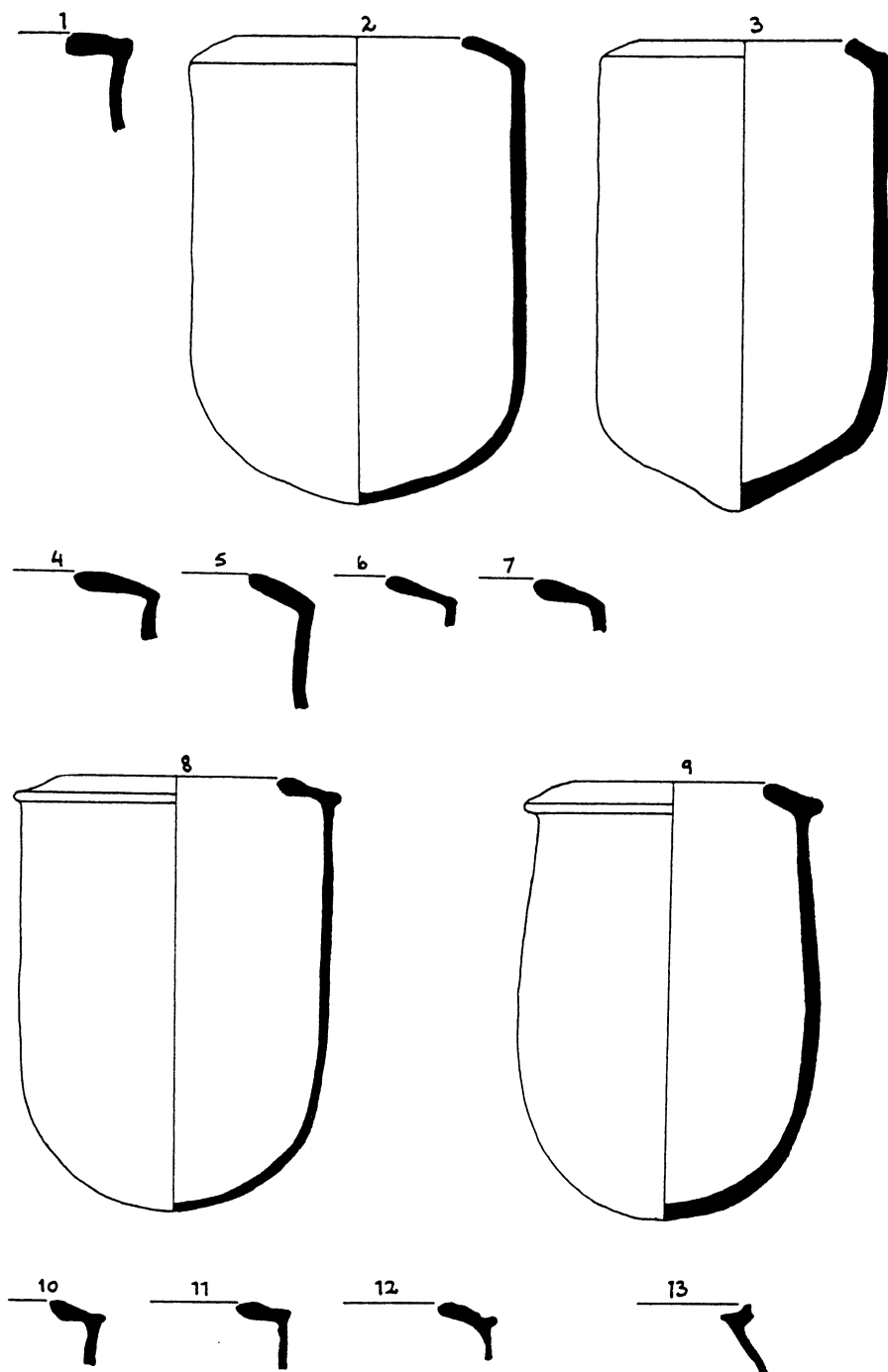




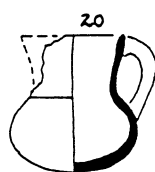
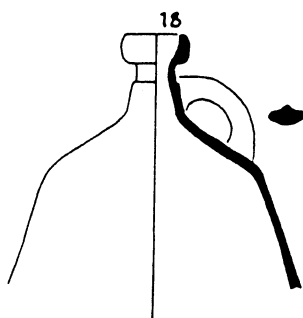
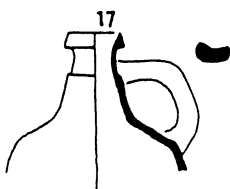
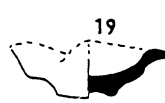
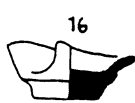








FIGURES 9-10: Pottery of the 7th/6th centuries B.C. from Bethshemesh (redrawn and reduced, from Grant and Wright 1931, Pl. XXXIV; and *idem.* 1938, Pl. LXV).



ON THE PRESENTATION
OF THE SYNOPTIC ACCOUNTS
OF THE MONARCHIES
(Samuel, Kings and Chronicles)*

BY

M.A. ZIPOR

For the student of the OT studying the two histories of the monarchy period, namely Samuel/Kings and Chronicles, a synopsis of these texts is an invaluable tool. This enables the reader to discern easily where one of the two texts is expanded or abridged and where it overlooks or deals with certain information. Furthermore, minor variations in the texts become distinguishable. Now, for the first time, the English reader is provided with a book which presents the two texts arranged in parallel columns, enabling him to observe not only the "major" differences between large textual sections but also differences in phrases and even individual words. In addition, footnotes occasionally refer to another relevant reference which is not in the opposite column. Related passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezra are also brought in a parallel column. The English text chosen is that of the RSV, which is followed even when it prefers a reading other than MT. However, the editor states that he must occasionally deviate from this text when a discrepancy appears to exist between the parallel texts but in fact does not exist in MT, and conversely, when existing variances in the Hebrew texts may not be evident. In such cases numeration of the verses is made between a different type of brackets.

The text in the book before us flows according to the order of Sam/Kgs to which the material from Chr is paralleled. The entire text is divided into 176 sections with headings under which the biblical sources (or the source, where the chapter does not appear in the parallel version) are indicated. In cases where throughout a lengthy text there is no parallel from Chr and the like, as for example in the stories of Esh-baal and the events concerning the House of

* A review article on James D. Newsome, Jr. (ed.), *A Synoptic Harmony of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles—With related passages from Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezra* (Baker Book House: Grand Rapids 1986), 275 pp.

David (2S 11:2-21:14), the text is then printed across the full page. Sections or chapters of Chr which do not appear in Sam/Kgs (such as the functions and divisions of the Levites, the reform of Jehoshaphat, Jehoiada and Zechariah) are integrated as separate sections in appropriate places throughout the text, and they, too, are printed across the full page. The final product, however, appears to be a harmonized combination of two sources which seem to complement each other when in fact they are at times rival accounts. This method also compelled the editor to sequentially use the following titles: 43: "David Charge to Solomon, I" (1K 2:1-9); 44: "David Charge to Solomon, II" (1C 22:2-19). The fact that Chr must be related to as another, separate composition whose historiography is different from Sam/Kgs is in fact rendered unclear by the above method. Perhaps, in order to rectify this a detailed table of contents is supplied at the beginning of the book. This table contains a list of the titles and, in parallel columns, the list of references which enables the reader to see which of the topics appear in two parallel texts (or even in a third parallel text, such as Isa 36-39, Jer 52), and what appears only in Sam/Kgs or only in Chr. At the end of the book there is an index, arranged according to the order of issues in Chr, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezra.

The main importance of the present work is for the English reader, as those reading the OT in the original Hebrew have already had suitable tools. The editor mentions Vannutelli's work¹ but he ignores Bendavid's,² which presents the Hebrew text of the Books of Sam/Kgs and Chr, as well as parallels in other OT books. Many of the following comments derive from the fact that the present reviewer is assisted by Bendavid's book. At this juncture it is essential to point out the main differences in presentation of material by Bendavid and the work under review:

a. Bendavid keeps the parallel columns separated throughout the text: The right column is intended for Samuel and Kings exclusively, while the left column is for Chr. Where there is no parallel text, the appropriate column remains blank; in certain cases this can continue

¹ P. Vannutelli, *Libri Synoptici Veteris Testamenti seu Librorum Regum et Chronicorum Loci Paralleli*, Rome 1931-34.

² A. Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible*, Carta: Jerusalem 1969. Bendavid writes the variants in opposite lines and the difference, including orthographic changes, is emphasized by a different letter (in red), thus making it possible to discern when word and expression differences are simply textual variants.

for the length of entire pages.³ The reader can constantly see if a particular story or section can be found in the narrative of Sam/Kgs, in Chr or in both and, thus, by simply leafing through the pages, can make a general comparison between the nature of each one of the sources.

b. Bendavid, in addition to presenting the course of the text in the order of Sam/Kgs, he also presents the course of Chr in its order.⁴ In this format, whenever the order of the synoptic sections is not identical this section and its parallel will appear twice, once according to the sequence of Chr and once according to the sequence of Sam/Kgs.⁵ However, when a section or passage is incorporated not according to order but merely quoted once more for the purpose of making a parallel, Bendavid emphasizes this by numerating the verses in red. Thus, the reader of Bendavid is able to read not only Sam/Kgs with continuity and to discern the parallels and differences, but he can likewise read Chr and see the similar and different parallel. This system is far more effective.⁶

Newsome begins with 1S 31:1 because from here onwards Chr has a continuous story. I would prefer to have had this preceded by the list of Saul's sons 1S 14:49 and parallel this with 1C 8:33 and 9:39 in order not to avoid the subject of the original name of Ish-Bosheth (Ish-Baal < Ish-Yo/Yah)⁷ and to refer to it later when reaching 2S 2:8 as did the editor in 1C 11:23 with Elhanan where he refers the

³ From time to time a blank column may be used to accommodate parallel material from another book such as Psalms or Isaiah; however, this is accentuated by numeration of the order and emphasized marking of the reference.

⁴ Bendavid begins with the beginning of Chr, and in parallel columns presents the relevant material from Genesis (the Genealogical Tables, the Table of the Nations, the Kings of Edom, etc.), from Numbers, Joshua, Ruth, Nehemia, as well as inner-parallels such as 1C 8:26-38 // 1C 9:34-44

⁵ E.g. in the section: "The Role of David's Mightiest Warriors" which in 2Sam appears before "David's Census of Israel" but in Chr (1C 11:10-47) is arranged together with the account of the conquest of Jerusalem (1C 11:4-9, // 2S 5:6-10) and before that of "The Death of Uzzah" (1C 13:1-14, // 2S 6:1-11), which precede the sections which Newsome names "David Consolidates His Kingdom" (1C 14:1-17, // 2S 5:11-25).

⁶ Indeed, both the differences in volume between the Hebrew and the English texts and the compactness of Hebrew must be taken into account. Arranging the material in the English book before us according to the method used by Bendavid would have required increasing the volume of the book by at least another hundred pages.

⁷ ישי (א), corrupted at 1S 14:49 to ישי; see: I.L. Seeligmann, *Tarbiz* 25 (1956), 122.

reader to 1S 17:7. The name Mephibosheth 2S 4:4 should be treated in the same way and it requires a reference to 1C 8:34, 9:40.

The material in Newsome's book is generally well arranged and accurate. However, in as comprehensive a work as this, certain elements are bound to be lacking. Various such shortcomings are illustrated below (references to the OT will be according to the RSV).

1. Failure to relate to a difference in parallel passages:

a. In some cases it is difficult or even impossible to transfer the variances in the original text into English, for example in cases where the variation is grammatical. Both in 1K 22:15 and 2C 18:14, "go up and triumph" is translated without any distinction made between the singular and plural forms; likewise with "hear!" in v.18 (19), although in this case the person being addressed is of great significance. This is probably connected with a theological problem of what seems to be a lie uttered by a prophet of Yahweh. Did he make a pledge to the King of Israel (as in 1 Kgs) or was he generally addressing both kings (as in 2 Chr)? Both in 1K 11:43 and // 2C 9:31 the word in question is translated "he was buried" without distinction and likewise on p. 205. Nevertheless, the editor distinguishes well between the two Hebrew expressions and the parallel expression is rendered "and they buried him" (pp. 183, 210, 215). In certain cases the difficulty is to find an English equivalent for the Hebrew synonym. E.g. in 1K 10:15 and // 2C 9:12 both are translated "and she turned." 2S 22:32 and // Ps 18:32 are rendered "except." The same is true of "destroyed" 1K 11:1 // 2C 20:10; "raft" 1K 5:9 // 2C 2:5; "which Moses put" 1K 8:9 // 2C 5:10 (in the first case the word could have been replaced by "placed") etc. Similarly, both the words *'ōt* in Isaiah 38:7 and *môpēt* in // 2C 32:24 are translated as "sign" (p.237); a similar translation problem which arises in Dt 13:2, 28:46 and in many other places, where *'ōt* and *môpēt* appear together, is resolved in RSV by translating *môpēt* "wonder(s)" (Dt 7:19 *et al.loc.*); "miracle" (Ps 105:27); "portent" (Isa 20:3); also "token" is used. And thus it was easy to resolve the difficulty in our case. Likewise: *yād*, Ps 18:1 as well as *kap*, ("palm"), // 2S 22:1 are translated, without any distinction, as "hand". In a case where it is difficult to reflect a difference through the English translation, a footnote should have been used to indicate the difference between parallels for the sake of accuracy.

b. In certain cases it seems that the RSV explains—and possibly adjusts—a given text according to its parallel. Thus, for example, the rendering of *bamm^egērôt* 1C 20:3 is “axes” (the word *m^egērāh* was earlier translated as the collective “saws”) and this is based, without a doubt, on its parallel *mag^zrôt* 2S 12:31. Similarly, *gibbôr* in 2S 22:26 is rendered “a man” exactly like *g^zbar* in // Ps 18:26; *‘aliyātô*, 2C 9:4 is rendered “his burned offering” according to // *‘ōlātô* in 1K 10:5. *ḡikrû* in 1C 16:15 (imper. 2 pl.) is similar in its rendering to *ḡākar* // Ps 105:8 (pf. 3 sg.). Similarly Isa 36:5,7 is emended according to // 2K 18:20,22. However, there are also cases like 1C 16:13, where “O offspring of Israel” is found in MT, but this is adapted (unnecessarily in my mind) to the parallel text, Ps 105:5 “of Abraham.”

Without relating to whether the interpretation (or the emendment) of the RSV is accurate, from the preface we learn that the editor himself is committed to presenting his reader with the exact Hebrew text (MT). As a matter of fact it can be safely established that Newsome does not always follow the RSV. In 2S 23:8 he leaves an empty space and notes “Hebrew is obscure,” despite the RSV’s well-founded reconstruction “he wielded his spear,” written according to // 1C 11:11 and other references.⁸

2. On the other hand, the Hebrew parallels in certain places have the same text but have various versions in the translation, e.g., 2S 3:3 “of Jezreel” // 1C 3:1 “the Jezreelitess.” Some cases are actually quite confusing. In 2K 14:7 “killed” and in // 2C 25:11 we find “smote” whereas in both places MT reads *wayyak*. In 2C 25:3, however, and also // 2K 14:5, the rendering is “killed” although “smote” would be more appropriate. At times this variation in translation has additional implications. 1K 7:47 and // 2C 4:19 resemble each other far more than is reflected in the translation (p.113). Why is the expression *‘et kol hakekēlīm* rendered in one place as “all the vessels” and in its parallel as “all the things?” They do not even appear on the same line causing the reader to believe that two different Hebrew expressions are being related to. (In the adjacent verses there is also the same difference in translation). Further on, the words “were of gold,” found in MT in the two parallel texts, have no representation in the column of 1K 7:50 of the book. V.51 is almost identical with its parallel but the different location of the

⁸ Cf. S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text... of the Books of Samuel*² (Oxford 1914), 364.

words “and stored” creates the impression that there is great disparity between the parallels in MT.

3. We thus revert to the matter of arranging the lines in parallel columns. Insufficient effort has been made to show the connection between variants of parallels. E.g.

2K 14:10

You have indeed
smitten Edom ...

2C 25:19

You say, “See, I have
smitten Edom ...”

It is not reflected at all that here is actually a “slight” variation between “הכה הכית” and “הנה הכית” (in MT this is second person). It would be better to divide the lines thus:

You have indeed
smitten Edom ...

You say that,
behold, you have
smitten Edom

Occasionally such a variant may even appear in a distant line so that it will be almost impossible for the reader to see the connection between the two. For example, on p. 128 “so he finished the house” 1K 9:25 must be moved down 25 lines and placed against “the house was completed” // 2C 8:16 (and not against v. 12!) for in both passages MT has *šlm* with two different vocalizations. Similarly, on p.182 “with his commanders,” 2C 21:9 (MT: *šārāw*) is a variant of “to Zair,” 2K 8:21 (MT *ša’irāb*). Similarly on p.70 “at Passdamim ... for battle,” 1C 11:13 (= Ephes-dammim 1S 17:1) must actually be placed against “when they defied ... for battle” 2S 23:9 and not against 23:11; it relates to the deeds of Eleazar the son of Dodo, not to Shammah.

The “variety” caused by the translation may also cause the misleading misplacement of passages. The following is an additional example (p.96):

1K 3:11

and you have not asked for yourself
long life and riches (‘*ōšer*)

or the life of your enemies

2C 1:11

and you have not asked

possessions (‘*ōšer*), wealth, honor
or the life of those who hate you
and have not asked long life

Here the word *ʿōšer* is translated in two different ways, and consequently the lines are wrongly arranged. The right order is, of course:

1K 3:11

and you have not asked for yourself
long life and riches
and you have not asked
the life of your enemies

2C 1:11

and you have not asked
riches, possessions, honor
or
the life of those who hate you
and have not asked long life

In general, the positioning of verses opposite each other in certain places is not successful. For instance, the following sections are arranged by Newsome thus:

2S 24:1

Again the anger of the Lord
was kindled against Israel, and he

incited David against them, saying
“Go, number Israel and Judah”

1C 21:1

Satan stood up against
Israel, and
incited David
to number Israel

As a matter of fact, the two prefaces are parallel to each other and should be arranged thus:

2S 24:1

Again
the anger of the lord was kindled
against Israel

1C 21:1

Satan stood up
against Israel

which may be a theological improvement by the Chronicler.⁹ And likewise further on, instead of the following—

v. 2

that I may know the number
of the people.

v. 2

that I may know their number.

this would be better arranged as:

that I may know
the number of the people.

that I may know
their number.

⁹ See: J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles* [AB] 1965, 147; M. Noth, *The Chronicler's Story* (tr: H. G. M. Williamson) [JSOT 50], Sheffield 1987, 55, 91.

4. In some instances unidentical sections are arranged consecutively in the parallel columns but not in the appropriate subject order. It is so on pp. 198-199 where there are sections concerning the Syrians who came up to fight Joash. The passages are arranged thus: 2K 12:18, then 2C 24:23-24. The logical order is exactly the opposite. Also for 2C 24:27 a footnote such as "cf. 2K 12:19" is anticipated. Under no circumstances can I agree with the order of the sections 1K 15:13 ff. // 2C 15:16 ff. (p.149). These are divided into 84, "Asa's Goodness" including 1K 15:13-15, 2C 15:16-19, while the continuation is included in 85: "The War of Asa and Baasha." However, v. 19, which reads "And there was no more war until the thirty-fifth year of reign of Asa," actually belongs to 85 and should be placed against 1K 15:15 (compare also *ibid* v.32) as a contradiction. The editor leaves the space opposite 1K 15:16 empty. Thus the reader cannot see that there are two contradictory pieces of information about the Asa period.

5. Missing parallels. Occasionally footnotes point to an additional reference. So, for example, on p.144 there is a reference in 2C 12:13 to 1K 14:21 (appearing on p.142). Considering that the point of departure of this work is the Books of Sam/Kgs it would be desirable in this and similar cases that references be taken from Sam/Kgs, too. It may happen that parallels are missing from the very same biblical Book. Thus in 2K 13:13 a reference to 14:16 should be made (see comment on p.210). In 1K 10:26 cross-references should be made to 5:6 (the closest to the parallel 2C 9:29). In 1K 2:11 the parallel given by the editor is 1C 29:27 but also 2S 5:4-5 (where the figure includes "and six months" in addition and // 1C 3:6 which is not mentioned by the book at all) should be written as parallels with cross-references. Alongside 2S 5:14-16 (the sons of David) the reader will find the parallel 1C 14:4-6 but not 3:5-9 in which their number (nine) is mentioned.

References from the same book with contradictory data are lacking, e.g. for 2S 17:25 one should also find 1C 2:17 ("Jether the Ishmaelite"). 2S 21:8 should be compared to 1S 18:19. Other parallels are also missing; 1C 16:28 and Ps 97:7-8 should be placed against Ps 29:1-2. To 2S 8:13 and // 1C 18:12 Ps 60:2 should also be added. To 2K 16:5 and // 2C 28:5 Isaiah 7:1 should be added. To 2S 22:31 // Ps 18:30, also Pr 30:5 should be paralleled.

Despite my reservations, I believe this book to be most useful. I hope that when plans are made for a new edition my remarks will be taken into account.

REVIEWS

Judith R. Baskin, *Pharaoh's Counsellors. Job, Jethro and Balaam in Rabbinic and Patristic Tradition* [Brown Judaic Studies, 47] (Scholars Press: Chico, CA, 1983). Pp. viii, 191. Price: US \$ 18.

The second half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth century witnessed an impressive number of studies seeking to identify Jewish and aggadic traditions in the writings of the early Church Fathers, and many of the fruits of this work are to be found in the volumes containing Louis Ginzberg's notes to his invaluable compilation *The Legends of the Jews*. Almost as if Ginzberg had summed up all that there was to know on the subject, this particular line of investigation then suffered a period of neglect before being taken up again, usually from rather different perspectives (and, one might add, often with a more satisfactory methodology) in recent decades. Amongst these more recent studies, a number of scholars have preferred to concentrate, not on a particular writer or work, but on a biblical figure, the pattern of whose subsequent history in the homiletic and exegetical literature of early Jewish and Christian writings is then explored. How fruitful this comparative approach can be was indicated in a fascinating manner by Marcel Simon in an article, already in 1937, dealing with Melkizedek, where he showed in a very striking way how Jewish and Christian treatments of the figure of Melkizedek, while never openly referring to one another, were in fact continuously interacting. Illuminating sondages of this sort have subsequently been undertaken by a number of scholars (including Ephraim Urbach).

Judith Baskin's *Pharaoh's Counsellors* is a worthy follower in the same tradition, and her careful and sensitive study of three archetypal non-Israelites of the biblical text demonstrates again very clearly how positions taken by early Christian writers concerning certain biblical figures (in this case Job and Balaam) sometimes led their Jewish counterparts—and notably the Palestinian Amoraim, who were geographically the most involved—to adopt stances that (clearly deliberately) ran counter to the Christian ones.

Job, Jethro and Balaam (who together figure as Pharaoh's counsellors in BT *Soṭa* and elsewhere) serve as paradigmatic representatives of three different types of gentile: the righteous gentile, the proselyte to Israel, and the prophet of the gentiles. They thus provide excellent focal points with the help of which it is possible to shed light on a number of wider issues, such as the sense of religious identity, or the nature of prophecy.

In each of the three central chapters Dr Baskin discusses the main outlines of the relevant Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions separa-

tely; for the former, (Rabbinic) Hebrew and (Hellenistic) Greek texts are treated in turn, with the Greek in second place; although this goes against chronological sequence, it makes good sense in the present study since it was often these texts (and notably Philo) which directly influenced Christian exegetes.

The author handles the Hebrew, Greek and Latin sources very competently, although it is clear that she is most at home in the first.¹ Perhaps rather surprisingly, little use is made of the Targum tradition. Among Christian authors it is Justin and Origen writing in Greek, and Jerome and Augustine writing in Latin, who are cited most. A few Syriac writers receive an occasional mention in passing. Thus, from the patristic side, the selection of texts is rather limited, and important Greek commentators, like Theodoret or (for Job) Julian the Arian, and homilists, such as John Chrysotom, do not feature at all. For patristic views on Balaam use might have been made of the summary overview by K. Karpp in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (s.v. Bileam).

There is, then, clearly scope for a much more extensive exploration on the early Christian side, but the value of Dr Baskin's book lies in the fact that it provides both the starting point and the stimulus for further work.

S. P. BROCK

J. Neusner, *SIFRÉ TO NUMBERS An American Translation and Explanation*. Volume One *Sifré to Numbers 1-58* (Brown Judaic Studies, 118) xvi + 232 pp.; Volume two *Sifré to Numbers 59-115* (Brown Judaic Studies, 119) 186 pp. Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 1986.

The mere task of translating *midrash sifré bemidbar* implies in itself a great deal of courage and determination, but we should not be surprised at Jacob Neusner's work. He has made us familiar with his job through his extremely wide list of publications. We could even think that he was bound to reach this point, once he (after moving through other paths of the "Literature of the Sages" with higher or lesser success—*mishnah, talmud*—) set out into the world of *midrash*.

Neusner begins justifying the reason why he thinks necessary a new translation of *sifré bemidbar*, though his work does not actually constitute a new translation of the book as such, but rather the first complete translation into English. The previous one, that by P.P. Levertoff—*Midrash Sifré on Numbers*, London, 1926—is really an anthology globally reduced to a fifth part of the book, though clearly notorious.

The examples that Neusner himself gives at the beginning of the book

¹ Only occasionally are there misleading statements about the sources; thus, for example, the statement on p. 30 that the Testament of Job 'exists in two Greek versions' is wrong.

are really clarifying and prove to be excellent evidence for an existing gap, otherwise obvious to anyone who set himself to compare this book with any of the editions of the Hebrew text of *sifré bemidbar*. And this, even assuming that there has been published no new manuscript sources of *sifré bemidbar*, and that there is no better edition than that by Horovitz. (In this connection, it is worth mentioning the work by M. Kahana *Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Sifré on Numbers*, PhD Diss., Jerusalem, 1982, ignored by Neusner). Quite different is the case of Neusner's translation of *berešit rabbah*. The need for it was not so clear, since there had been no new contributions to the sources after the edition of Theodor-Albeck and the splendid English translation of Dr. H. Freedmann in *Midrash Rabbah*, Soncino Press, London 1939.

However, what Neusner has in mind here is not only a new translation, but—as it is said in the title—“an explanation.” And it is to be noticed that he does not use the term “commentary” instead, which would be clearly inappropriate both in the classical and the modern meaning of this word.

The book includes an introduction in which the translator tries to go deep into the author's intentions through the analysis of the formal components in the book.

The point of departure and the background of the work itself could be summarised at least partly in the sentence “people say things the way they mean to say them,” according to which those formal resources used by the author are as important as the actual contents of the book, if not more. In other words, a great deal of the conceptual and intentional load can only be perceived through the analysis of the formal component, since it is there and nowhere else that it is made explicit.

This is not the first time that Neusner applies this method, which he calls “inductive evidence.” It is somehow present as well in some other works of his, mainly in *Comparative Midrash: the Plan and Program of Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah* (Atlanta, 1986).

The method consists in analyzing *pisqa* after *pisqa*, trying to establish the recurrent formal structures found, if any, so as to get out of them, once classified, the author's intention.

In this research Neusner establishes two basic types of structures or formal traits: 1) the so-called ‘intrinsic,’ in which the biblical verse is commented upon as such, i.e. as it is understood within its own context in Numbers; and 2) the so-called ‘extrinsic’ in which the verse is used as a commentary or explanation for a different subject taken out of its context in Numbers. To each of these basic types there will correspond several patterns.

In the period of *sifré bemidbar 1-115* Neusner identifies 350 *pisqa'ot* of the intrinsic type and 153 of the extrinsic type. Among the former, the highest number (220) corresponds to what is called simple pattern: “verse plus a

simple declarative sentence that states the meaning;" the rest is constituted by more sophisticated formulae with some specific formal trait, as is the question "for what purpose is this passage presented?," or the model "the passage means X, but how about possibility Y?."

Among the extrinsic structures it is worth mentioning those in which the biblical verse constitutes the base for a quotation from *mishnah* or from *tosephtah*.

We must not forget, though, the so-called "dialectal exegesis," which can be in turn intrinsic or extrinsic. This last type, introduced by the question "is it not all a matter of logic?" is much more frequent and could be defined as "exegesis vs. logic." It is from these formulae just mentioned that Neusner works out what he considers to be the key to *sifré bemidbar* and to the author's intentions. Two principles can be inferred from that key: 1) Reason unaided by Scripture produces uncertain positions; 2) Reason operating within the limits of Scripture produces truth.

Such is the way Neusner's book unfolds to conclude with the assertion: "that justifies my claim that the framers of *Sifré to Numbers* have carried out a labor not only of conglomeration, arrangement and selection, but also of genuine authorship or composition in the narrow and strict sense of the word. *Sifré to Numbers* emerges from authors, not merely arrangers and compositors."

The statement is clear and uncontroversial, but it could well deserve a further comment. The concepts of "compositor" and "arranger" are subject to multiple interpretations, and we must have in mind that it is not the same to approach a text from the viewpoint of textual, as opposed to literary, criticism. There remain, thus, many unanswered questions: are first-hand materials used or even specially created for this composition, or is it only existing materials, though formally renewed, that are used? What kind of influence can this approach have on the discussion about the origins of *sifré bemidbar*, i.e. R. Aqiba or R. Ismael?, etc.

However, coming back to the beginning, we must say that the task of translation of *sifré bemidbar 1-115* constitutes a notorious piece of work, if one intends to produce a clear and easily understandable translation. The explanation offered after each one of the *pisqa'ot* is of great help to the understanding of the always complex rabbinical logic.

Luis F. GIRÓN

Jacob Neusner, *Messiah in Context: Israel's History and Destiny in Formative Judaism*. Fortress Press: Philadelphia, 1984. Pp. xxviii + 260. Price: US \$ 26.95.

This is part two of the trilogy *The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine*. The volume consists of a Preface, concisely outlining the thesis of the book; an Introduction which unpacks the thesis in a little more detail;

followed by four chapters and an appendix. *Messiah in Context* is a strange book because the central argument is that traditions concerning the Messiah were “left like rubble after a building has been completed: stones that might have been used but were not” by the rabbis who framed the Mishnah and Talmuds between the second and the seventh centuries (p. ix). The building with which Neusner is concerned (the Context in question) is the canonical literature of formative Judaism. Consequently it is not an historical study of the development of messianic ideas but a survey of the utilization of those ideas in the Mishnah and associated literature, the Jerusalem Talmud, Scriptural exegesis, and the Babylonian Talmud. The aim is to study the literature chronologically, though it is recognized that the literature overlaps in time and no completely accurate chronology can be given.

Beginning with the Mishnah it is noted that there are few references to the eschatological hope of the Messiah. The few references appear in passing, without elaboration or application. The messianic hope presupposes an historical-eschatological framework, but the Mishnah constructs an ahistorical, timeless world. In it there is no interpretation of history, only the recounting of brief anecdotes to provide a precedent, to illustrate a problem of law or its solution. Possibly this is what is meant by the enigmatic comment that “in Christian theological terms: *Geschichte*, but no *Historie*” (p. 41). Needless to say this comment is confused in that there is no single theological use of *Geschichte*. More significant is the argument that the Mishnah is concerned with sanctification, not eschatological salvation at the end of history.

Neusner regards Abot, though formally part of the Mishnah, to be an addition to it, dating from about 250 CE. Part of the evidence for this is that there is no commentary on Abot in the Tosefta. It was added to provide a rationale for the acceptance of the authority of the Mishnah which rests on the revelation of the Torah to Moses transmitted down through the ages to the Sages. But, according to Abot, this process appears to have been open-ended because each of the Sages handed on three of his own sayings and there is no indication that these sayings were derived from the received tradition. From this perspective the Mishnah conveys the vision of God’s will for his people in the world. “One does one’s duty out of awe and reverence for heaven. Service then must be for the right reason, ... recognition of who man is and who God is.” (p. 49) There is no incentive here based on the hope of salvation.

Closely associated with the Mishnah, and dependent on it, is the Tosefta. It comments on the Mishnah, following the same divisions and, although completed some 200 years later, it expresses the same outlook. Here Neusner argues that “the Tosefta through its loyalty to the Mishnah betrayed the Mishnah. It did not allow the Mishnah to serve as a resource,

or to enrich, enhance, and guide the ages to come. Rather, the Tosefta treated the Mishnah as the last word." (p. 76) Thus the Tosefta, as little as the Mishnah, develops the eschatological role of the Messiah. The perspective changes with the two Talmuds.

Ninety percent of the Palestinian Talmud is framed on the basis of the Mishnah. It is only in the other ten percent that other topics are taken up. This means that two separate and essentially asymmetrical bodies of material are found in this Talmud. Though they do not intersect they are harmonized and brought together as the Messiah myth is assimilated with the larger Torah myth. In doing this the image of the Messiah is transformed into the image of David our rabbi. In other words, the rabbis shaped the Messiah in their own image to be whatever they wanted/needed him to be.

In the exegetical works Neusner distinguishes works based on the order of Scripture and Mishnah from those with some other basis of organization where the Messiah myth is more prominent. The exegetical types might belong to different periods and represent the move from elitist master-disciple relationship to the popular synagogue where the Messiah myth found prominence. Here the messianic salvation myth was grafted into a system dealing with the sanctification of the people where Israel is more the focus than the Messiah. The use of the case of the messianic pretender Bar Kokhba is illuminating. There Israel had acted arrogantly and had been punished. Israel must be patient and wait for God's redemption.

The Babylonian Talmud is a *summa* of Judaism which gathers up all the ideas from earlier documents. Neusner calls it the great vacuum cleaner. In spite of this, the resulting corpus encompasses a well-composed worldview which is quite distinct from the single system of the Mishnah. All of the intermediate literature is organized on one of these two poles. While the framers of the Mishnah show knowledge of various aspects of the Messiah myth, they do not utilize it in creating a world of values. At the same time the Talmud uses the Messiah myth to reinforce Torah. But it did so in such a way as to make the Mishnaic system relevant to the succeeding ages and situations. It took up the principle of periodization into three ages and four kingdoms. There is a focus on the destruction of the Temple and the reasons for it, raising the question of what would bring the Messiah. Thus the Mishnah's system has been messianized but the Messiah myth has been radically revised so that Israel controls not only her own destiny, but the history of the world. When Israel sins her enemies prosper, but when she obeys the law the Messiah will come. Positive value is also assigned to the exile. It is the time to bring proselytes into God's service and to protect religious duty in an hostile environment, emphasizing Israel's subservience to God's will. The focus is on the nation, not the individual, and there is no link between the Messiah and the eschatological forgiveness of sins. Rather the Messiah reinforces the values of the Mishnah.

These statements are suggestive of contrasts with messianic developments in early Christianity, and Neusner offers comments along these lines from time to time. But it is nowhere suggested that the prominence of messianic hope in Christianity contributed to its relative neglect in the Mishnah and other early rabbinic literature. Rather, it is argued that the disasters of two (messianic?) wars led to suspicion of the messianic hope. Perhaps the matter was more complex. But this is to be critical of the book in terms of its passing comments rather than its major thesis, which is well founded. The methodology of argument is unusual in that much of the book is largely concerned with demonstrating the absence of the theme under discussion. This is not such a problem when dealing with the limited scope (though a large volume in itself) of the Mishnah. The problem is more pronounced where the argument turns to the massive literature of the two Talmuds. Here only a few samples can be treated. No doubt, in the mass of material in the two Talmuds, evidence contrary to Neusner's thesis can be produced. But that would not prove that the thesis was implausible. He has set out to argue about the overall systems constructed by the Talmuds. The book, which is generally written with great clarity of argument and at times expressed in memorable phrases, is marred by unnecessary repetition of argument and the use of clichés which do not clarify or advance the argument at all. A more abbreviated form of the first chapter (on the Mishnah) now appears as the final chapter in the volume (edited by Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs), *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, 1988). The volume reviewed here will be standard reading for those interested in the place of the Messiah in the canonical literature of formative Judaism.

John PAINTER

Witold Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē: A Study in the History of Historiography*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, 9 (Uppsala, 1987), 182 pp.

'This chronology or history begins from the very beginning of Creation and proceeds up to the birth of Abraham. [...] The patriarch Abraham was born in the forty-second year of Ninus, as Eusebius testifies, for from him is taken the content of our history up to the time of the believing Constantine. From this point up to Theodosius II (our chief source is) Socrates [...] and from Theodosius up to Justinian (our chief source is) the holy John, bishop of Asia, that is the year 885 (= AD 573/4), and from then until the present year, which is the year 1086 of Alexander (= AD 754/5) and 158 of the Hijra we have not found <a history> concerning actions which is composed as diligently as the ones afore-mentioned.'

This passage (II, pp. 145-6) from the preface to Part Four of the chronicle, which is the subject of W.'s study (*Incerti auctoris chronicon Pseudo-*

Dionysianum vulgo dictum = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, vols. 91 and 104, originally *Scriptores syri* III.1,2, Paris, 1927, 1933) would form a natural starting-point. W., however, passes over it very cursorily on p. 125, in a section devoted to 'Sources and their Use.' His translation there differs on some details from mine. Instead of 'history' = *maktābanuta* (I use here the system of transcription favoured at Uppsala, in which all W.'s generous citations in the footnotes are given), he has 'book' = *katābā*; instead of 'actions' = *dubbārā*, he has 'matters' = *sō'rānā*. In his translation the last sentence ends as follows: 'we have not found anything (written) as carefully as those previous (works) on the matters of (this) book.' Here my translation rests on the conjecture that *da-maktābānūtā* is a slip for *da-maktābā*.

W. could have used this passage to illustrate some important points. For example, the author was unsure whether to call his book a chronological compilation or a narrative history; his hesitation is a symptom of the disease caused by combining two kinds of sources without imposing any uniformity of style or intention. His own style of writing in the original portion of his work owes much to John of Ephesus and to that less verbose Edessene chronicler of the time of Anastasius, whom he may have known from John and whom we know only from him; this style can be characterized as an extended annalistic record (the former royal annals of Edessa, preserved apparently in the episcopal archives of that city, where they could have been an inspiration to the author of the Anastasian chronicle, contained some extended narrative passages as well as short bulletins) with moralistic digressions of a homiletic nature. (Our author sees 'actions' or 'acts' as the stuff of history; his choice of this word is significant, too, because, with Syriac writers ringing in the ear, it seems incomplete in itself and begs to be completed with the adjectives 'good,' 'bad' and 'divine.') This style does not fit in either of the genres pioneered by the Greek Christian chronographers.

At this point W. might fruitfully have compared the mature historiographical discussion by the genuine Dionysius, the early ninth-century patriarch (see *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Book 10, Chapter 21). He considered that Syriac historiography and the Greek models to which it was indebted could be divided into the categories of 'chronography,' 'ecclesiastical history' and 'anecdotes in the style of ecclesiastical history.' He protests against the misuse of the term 'ecclesiastical' to mean 'narrative' and contrasts narrative history with pure chronology. As regards the anecdotal style practised by his maternal grandfather, Daniel (cf. *Chronique de Michel*, Book 11, Chapter 16), he criticises the fragmentarisation of history into mere episodes without a connecting thread or a solid chronological framework. It is clear from the surviving testimonia that Dionysius succeeded in improving on his models. In describing his own work he used the Greek term *pragmateia*, evoking Polybius's concept of a grand scheme serving to explain the course of world history. W. does no justice to the

achievement of the genuine Dionysius and fails altogether to mention his use of the word *pragmateia* in his survey of Syriac historiographical terminology (pp. 168-9). On p. 167 he says that Dionysius is 'lost' and two other statements reveal his lack of awareness with regard to the greatest of Syrian historians. The first is on p. 85: 'arithmetic was never a strong point with the Syriac chronicles;' the second is on p. 89: 'There does not seem to have been in medieval Syria any demand for history written for purely intellectual (cognitive) purposes,' whereby one must ask whether history has ever been written for *purely* intellectual purposes.

Abramowski, who wrote the only monograph on Dionysius in 1940, distinguished W.'s chronicle from him clearly by calling it the Chronicle of Zūqnīn, by W.'s own admission a better name. W. also admits that most scholars have supported Nau's claim, first expressed in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 2 (1987), pp. 47-8, that the priested monk and stylite Joshua of Zūqnīn, who is named on folio 69 of the unique manuscript (Vatican Syriac 284) as the man who 'transcribed' (= *katab*) the above-mentioned Edessene chronicle of the reign of Anastasius, is in fact the compiler and author of the Zūqnīn Chronicle. Why, then, does W. feel bound, as Chabot did in 1927, to commemorate, to the confusion of another generation, the inapposite conjecture of an eighteenth-century prelate (it was J.-S. Assemani who absurdly identified the Zūqnīn Chronicle as that of Dionysius in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* II, pp. 98-101)? Perhaps his reluctance to accept the consensus on Joshua is due to the apparent absurdity of historiographical activity being carried out on top of pillar, yet there is the comparable case of John of Litarbā, the chronographer who corresponded with James of Edessa. Textual criticism might demonstrate that the manuscript of the Zūqnīn Chronicle is the autograph, which would clinch the argument for identifying the author as Joshua the Stylite, although it is not a necessary condition. W. shows too little knowledge of the limitations of Syriac palaeography in accepting Tisserant's ninth-century date for this manuscript as incontrovertible (p. 30). Since I find Nau's argument convincing, I shall call the author of the Zūqnīn Chronicle Yēshū', the Syriac form of Joshua, to avoid confusion with the Anastasian author who has become so well known under the misapplied name of Joshua the Stylite.

If Yēshū' says that he has travelled extensively, he may have done this before climbing his pillar. His travels are not inconsistent with the habits of Amidene monks, as John of Ephesus shows by his own example and by many anecdotes; W. (p. 92) gives too much weight to the Rule of Rabbūlā and similar documents and feels obliged to make Yēshū' a *sā'ōrā* (the only monastic officer whom Rabbūlā would permit to travel) rather than a stylite. He does not mention that a *sā'ōrā* called Lazarus is among the monks of Zūqnīn mentioned at the end of the Preface to Yēshū's chronicle, so that Yēshū' himself cannot have been a *sā'ōrā* when he wrote

it. If Yēshū^c is interested in grain-prices, this does not have to mean he was steward of the monastery (pp. 92-3; incidentally, the proper title of a steward was *parnāsā*, not *sā'ōrā*: see A. N. Palmer, 'A Corpus of Inscriptions from Tūr 'Abdīn and Environs,' *Oriens Christianus* 71 [1987], pp. 69, 95-6, A.8, B.1); it might simply be due to the influence of his model, the Edessene chronicler of Anastasian date, whom I would identify with the steward (= *parnāsā*) of the cathedral, Stratonicus, mentioned in Chapter 42 of the edition by W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (Cambridge, 1882). This sixth-century author had made a great point of noting rising and falling grain-prices, claiming that when they fell that was a sign of God's favour directly connected with the prohibition of the mime-show (Chapter 46).

Going back to the passage with which this review began, the word *xattitā'it* also has important implications. It can be translated 'accurately,' but this cannot be what Yēshū^c means, because he certainly did have accurate sources for Part Four. The European lexica do not help us very much here, because the only alternative they offer is 'diligently' (hence W.'s 'carefully'). Tūma Awdō, *Simtā dā-leššānā sūryāyā* (Urmia, 1897; reprint: Glane, 1985), on the other hand, gives the following definition of *xattitā*: 'What is made in a well-defined and well-constructed manner' = *māḥarqā'it wā-taḡnā'it*; as synonyms he gives: *māšarrā*, *māsattā*, *mātaḡnā*, *šarrirā*, *dā-lā mezdā'za'* = 'reliable, well-founded, well-constructed, true, unshakable.' The description 'well-defined and well-constructed' is suited to Eusebius's *Chronicle* and to Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History* and presumably also to John of Ephesus, but not to the sources used for the period after John, which were varied in character, limited in scope, lacking in mutual cohesion and at times mutually contradictory. What Yēshū^c is regretting is the lack of a ready-made synthesis of these disparate sources.

W. is surely rash to give the analysis of sources such low priority on the grounds that it is only necessary for those who are in the first instance concerned to determine the chronicle's reliability (p. 28). Analysis suggests that one of Yēshū^c's sources was a fellow-countryman of Leo III, perhaps even a Germaniceian, writing during the reign of that emperor. W. quotes this passage as proof of Yēshū^c's own patriotism (p. 95). An even more glaring instance is on p. 139, where Yēshū^c quotes John of Ephesus so slavishly as to preserve his first-person pronoun; yet W. uses the passage to illustrate Yēshū^c's, not John's, view of history. These two examples show the dangers attending W.'s insouciance with regard to source-analysis. The curious thing is that he gives space to the sources (and the sources of the sources) used in Parts One, Two and Three (pp. 124-36) and tells us of the existence (without describing the results) of an unpublished Arabic thesis by Dr Yūsuf Matti Ishāq devoted specifically to the sources of Yēshū^c (p. 38), yet he himself has nothing to say about the sources

independently deployed in Part Four by Yēshū' himself. It is this part, surely, which can teach us the most about Yēshū's own historiographical technique and this, after all, is the aim of W.'s book. For example, at II, p. 156, Yēshū' admits that he has failed to make the regnal years of the Byzantine emperors tally. He tells us that he found the list of emperors, which he is using, prefixed to an account of the Arab invasion of AD 717-18. If he had counted the emperors' regnal years backwards from this date he would not have gone far wrong. As it is, he begins in 586/7 instead of 565/6 and ends up somehow with eleven rather than twenty-one years too many (presumably he subtracted ten years from the reign of Justin II, because in other respects the regnal years are accurate). Since, however, he is combining this and other lists of rulers and prelates with dated notices from chronicles, he is obliged to attribute the imperial order of AD 616/7, that Jews should be baptized, to Phocas, rather than to Heraclius. Contrast *Chronique de Michel*, Book 11, Chapter 4, remembering that the phrase 'at this time' is used by all Syriac chroniclers with great latitude. The likelihood is that Yēshū' was obliged to suppress the name of Heraclius here in order to conceal the discrepancy. At another place he anticipates that critics will discover discrepancies by comparison with other chronicles and makes a very gauche excuse (II, p. 147): 'Not even the authors of former times agree with one another. One subtracts, one adds; this one writes on the Church, that one on other matters.'

The bad workman blames his tools. Yēshū' realizes that he has done a bad job, but he lays the blame on his sources, adding petulantly that the Arabs complicate matters further by counting in lunar months. Yet even though he knows this he counts the regnal years of the caliphs as solar years and so gets in a hopeless muddle, even though his date for Muhammad is approximately correct. 'Piety is more important than pedantry' is the only defence for such incompetence and Yēshū' uses it without hesitation against the critics whom he so rightly fears. These are his words: 'Intelligent and god-fearing people are not injured by the fact that a date is a year or two out either way. Let it be sufficient for those who fear God to see the castigations of former generations and to turn aside from evil, lest those castigations should be visited upon them, too' (*loc. cit.*). In other words, the oppressive and verbose jeremiads in which the chronicler indulges are a compensation for his feelings of incompetence and a kind of defensive shield. If he genuinely believed that chronology was unimportant, why did he set out to write a chronicle and why did he regret the lack of a 'solidly founded' or 'well-constructed' history after John of Ephesus? Yet W. does not once doubt Yēshū's good faith. This makes his general conclusions about the chronicler's attitude to history questionable.

Having suggested that W. does not approach the subject in the most promising way, the reviewer may be expected to describe how W. does

approach it, before going on to points of detail. W. begins by saying that 'Pseudo-Dionysius,' though a bad historian, is nevertheless interesting, because he exemplifies a certain attitude to the past which can be placed in a certain tradition and which was published with a certain purpose (pp. 27-9). A brief sketch of the contents and a history of scholarship concerned with 'Pseudo-Dionysius' completes the Introduction (pp. 29-38). Chapter 1 gives the historical context in which the chronicler worked (pp. 39-58). Chapter 2 gives the literary background: the Christian Universal chronicle, of which the present chronicle is an example (pp. 59-75). Chapter 3 considers the achievement of the Syrians in this genre (pp. 76-89). Chapter 4 considers first the author (pp. 90-102), then the chronicle itself (pp. 103-46). In chapter 5 W. tries out a semantic approach, listing and analysing the Syriac range of historiographical terminology, especially in 'Pseudo-Dionysius' (pp. 147-69). A brief conclusion (pp. 170-2), an index (pp. 173-81) and a select register of Syriac words (p. 182) complete the book. The structure is logical and clear, but Chapter 4 contains the essence of the monograph, which should have occupied two-thirds, instead of less than one-third of the book. And why shirk the task of discovering how reliable Part Four is? The reliability of sources remains an essential condition for discovering more about the past than what the men who wrote about it thought they were doing. Moreover, W. himself assumes this in Chapter 1. Nor can even the self-referential value of a text be appreciated, unless one can contrast it with a critical version of the realities treated in that text.

Further, on points of detail: The General Abbreviations (p. 11) should include those found on pp. 15-17. The subtitle on p. 12 should read: 'Abbreviations of Journals and Series.' The volumes of the CSCO should be given their number in the overall series in addition to or instead of that in the (old or new) Syriac series, because most libraries catalogue them in the former way. The title on p. 14 should read: 'Sources and Translations' and these should include *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott *et al.* (Melbourne, 1986) = *Byzantina Australiensia*, 4. The Secondary Literature should include A. P. Dyakonov, *Cyrus of Baṭnān* (St. Petersburg, 1912) [in Russian]; V. Grumel, 'Theophānous enantiophanīai aphanizōmenai: l'année du monde dans la *Chronographie* de Théophane,' *Échos d'Orient* 33 (1934), pp. 396-408; C. Mango, 'Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?' *Zbornik Radova Vizantinoloskoḡ Instituta*, 18 (1978), pp. 9-17; reprinted in C. Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* (Collected Studies Series, 191; London, 1984), chapter XI. F. Nau published 'Étude sur les parties inédites de la chronique ecclésiastique attribuée à Denys de Tellmahré' in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 2 (1897), pp. 41-68, and on pp. 455-93 of the same volume he published 'Analyse de la seconde partie inédite de l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie, patriarche jacobite de Constantinople († 585).' A republication of both articles appeared separately in the same

year with the title *Analyse des parties inédites de la chronique attribuée à Denys de Tellmahré*; it is this that was reviewed by T. Nöldeke. W.'s bibliography does not make these facts clear.

The script illustrated in the frontispiece is not Estrangelā (p. 30). That the chronicler finished his work in AD 775 does not entail that he died soon afterwards, nor that he was born before 715 (p. 39). Arab raids on Byzantine territory always provided slaves and booty and thus were never mere 'military exercises undertaken in order to keep the armies alert' (p. 41). Monophysite Christianity, not just Christianity, was the dominant religion among the Arabs of the Syrian Desert (p. 41, note 12): see *Chronicle of AD 1234*, vol. I, p. 213. Part of note 23 on p. 43 should have been worked into the text. In note 33 on p. 45 'arqān should have been translated. The second most important Syriac monastery in the former Roman empire during the seventh and eighth centuries was not Qartmīn, but Gubbā Barrāyā (p. 49): see A. N. Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier* (Cambridge, 1990), chapter 5. Note 70 on p. 50 appears to ignore the dispute between the patriarch Severus bar Mashqē and the metropolitan bishops about metropolitan jurisdiction (see Palmer, *ibid.*). The death-tolls of monks on p. 52 refer to three different epidemics and there is no indication what proportion of the community survived (cf. p. 91). The interesting question concerning work-shy monks (p. 53) is not *whether* they considered work of little importance, but *why* they did not honour it, as the Benedictines do. Canon 1 of the Persians may or may not have been applicable to the Jacobite monasteries of the eighth century (p. 55): see H. Kaufhold, *Die Rechtsammlung des Gabriel von Basrā und ihr Verhältnis zu den anderen juristischen Sammelwerken der Nestorianer* (Berlin, 1976) = *Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung*, 21, pp. 52-4.

Contrary to what W. alleges, priests could also be 'holy men' and there were members of the clergy who possessed 'personal charisma' (p. 55; e.g. *Chronique de Michel*, Book 11, Chapter 7: on Severus, bishop of Samosata, early in the seventh century). Not all Syriac authors were monks or had spent some time in monasteries (p. 56): Sergius of Rīsh 'Aynā, for example, was a doctor of medicine, and Sergius, son of Īwannis Ruṣāfāyā, was a landowner and a father (see *Chronique de Michel*, Book 11, Chapter 3, mistranslated by Chabot and Abramowski); Daniel and his father Moses of Anḫel were lay scholars and married men and examples could be multiplied. The school of Qēnneshrē deserves a better press than it gets on pp. 57-8 and Severus Sebokht should have been mentioned as well as his pupil, James of Edessa. The cyclical concept of time can hardly be said to render history 'meaningless' (p. 66). Eusebius (*HE* I 13) speaks specifically of archives dating from the Kingdom of Edessa, not of annals still kept there in his time (p. 77). W. finds in the short chronicles an enigma (p. 83), but surely they serve the purpose of proving a political, sectarian or

patriotic point by selective juxtaposition of events from the past, especially by the juxtaposition of human actions with natural disasters? It is not true (nor did W. intend to say) that most of the Syriac chronicles are known from 'one incomplete manuscript of the fourteenth century in a private collection in Istanbul' (p. 85; this is one of several examples of infelicity of expression; I refrain from collecting the numerous mistakes in the English and the superfluous jargon).

The references to the ecclesiastical history in the *Chronicle of AD 1234* are all in the part epitomized from Dionysius and prove that *he* wrote his ecclesiastical history first, whereas the single reference to the secular history in the ecclesiastical part of the same chronicle shows that the thirteenth-century chronicler did indeed compose the former first (*pace* W., p. 85). There seems to be a conflict between what is said at the bottom of p. 99 about the Armenians and the eirenic statement on p. 48. When the chronicler attributes a conflagration in which many Nestorians were burned to God's own agency, his comment can hardly be considered 'neutral,' nor has he refrained from passing words 'on the deserved punishment of heretics' (*pace* W., p. 100). A spot check in the index revealed a misprint ('eschatology, supposed in PD, 114f,' for '144f') and diverse entries on 'eremits' (*sic*) and 'hermits' without a cross-reference between them. The conclusion promises a new evaluation of the *Chronicle of Zūqnān* (p. 170); what it delivers is hardly more than an admission that the author was a bad historian and a tedious moralist (p. 172).

'This book is both original and good. Unfortunately what is original in it is not good and what is good is not original.' This famous crushing review applies, I think, to Yēshū'; it does not apply to W. There are many aspects of his work which make it a valuable possession. Both the frontispiece, illustrating the page of the manuscript on which there is a diagram of the comet sighted by the author in AD 760 (March), and the index of selected Syriac terms are welcome. There are 231 titles in the list of Secondary Literature which testify to broad but relevant reading, much of it unknown to the reviewer. W. is right to contest the view that a chronicle is valueless for the historian if it fails to offer him reliable dated records. In note 66 on p. 37 and elsewhere he gives valuable information for non-Slavonicists on Russian publications. He manages to make Yēshū' attractive for a moment by underscoring his compassion for the defenceless, whether poor people or dumb animals (p. 102), though p. 110 makes me wonder whether the latter was more than a literary pose.

The division of Yēshū's material into 1. God's deeds 2. Good human actions 3. Bad human actions and the punishment of them and 4. Morally neutral events (pp. 111-12) certainly seems more appropriate than a division into political, ecclesiastical, social and cultural etc. categories (pp. 106-9), although the idea of 'gradual development' (p. 112) is much too optimistic

for our chronicler. It is revealing, on the other hand, that W. was not able to find much material to put in the category of cultural and intellectual history. The discussion of the chronology is useful, though not exhaustive (p. 119-23); that of the sources (pp. 124-36) is a healthy reminder that, apart from anything else, we owe to Yēshūʿ the preservation of the list of the Kings of Edessa (p. 129) and several other fascinating texts. W. is surely right to say that the chronicler 'did not believe in the imminent end of the world;' one might perhaps go further and say that he hardly seems to believe in a loving God and in the redemption of humanity. Mankind in the pages of his chronicle seems hopelessly depraved, God perpetually lashes out in righteous anger. As W. remarks, his admonitions 'are backed mostly by deterrent examples, not by inspiring ones' (p. 171). But if his subject is depressing, W.'s own research will stimulate more discussion of Syriac historiography and that is a very good thing.

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